

ABHANDLUNGEN FÜR DIE KUNDE
DES MORGENLANDES
Band 63

Islamic Art and Architecture
in the European Periphery

Crimea, Caucasus, and the Volga-Ural Region

Edited by Barbara Kellner-Heinkele,
Joachim Gierlichs, and Brigitte Heuer



Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft

Harrassowitz Verlag

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DES MORGENLANDES**

**Im Auftrag der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
herausgegeben von Florian C. Reiter**

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Preface

The majority of contributions in the present volume are based on papers presented at the international symposium "Crimea, Caucasus, and the Volga-Ural Region: Islamic Art and Architecture in the European Periphery", held in Berlin, Sept. 17–21, 2004, and organized by the editors of this volume. The symposium brought together 27 scholars from Azerbaijan, Georgia, Germany, the Russian Federation, Turkey, and the Ukraine, as well as from France and the United Kingdom. In convening this symposium, the organizers attempted to break new ground and give a voice to historians of art and architecture, archaeologists, and curators of museums from what can be termed the European periphery, and to initiate a dialogue with specialists from Western Europe studying art and architecture in the central areas of the Islamic world. Until then, Islamic art and architecture in the European periphery had not been the subject of international conferences or symposia, nor had Western scholarly publications given much space to contributions dealing with the particular character of Islamic art treasures and architectural monuments in the Black Sea area, the Caucasus, and the Volga-Ural region. In preparing the symposium, the organizers met with manifold difficulties that need not be spelt out here. During the symposium, lively discussions on interpretation and approach took place, discussions that shed light on the participants' diverse academic backgrounds, but also on different levels of financial support, scholarly aims, and public interest.

These differences are also reflected in the symposium papers that the authors revised and sent for publication in this volume. In addition, the editors faced problems of a technical and intellectual order, which forced them to exclude some of the papers presented at the symposium and submitted for publication. The editors tried to compensate for this by inviting papers by authors who had not actively participated in the symposium. Oleksa Haiworonski published his paper presented at the symposium in a different context.¹ The editors ask the readers to make allowances for the varying quality of the illustrations. The technical means for producing illustrations of a publishable quality still differ considerably from one country to another.

Before publication, the original text of most papers has undergone revisions and editorial changes, the extent of which varies from case to case. In some cases, the editors were not able to clarify vague expressions or incongruities. The editors did not attempt full uniformity in technical matters, respecting the conventions regarding footnotes, transcription, and bibliography the authors had adopted. A number of

1 Oleksa Haiworonski, An Overview of the Mediaeval Crimean Tatar Settlement of Eski Yurt. In: *EJOS. Electronic Journal of Oriental Studies*, vol. VIII (2005), No. 1, pp. 1–11. URL: <http://www2.let.uu.nl/Solis/anpt/ejos/pdf8/Haiworonski-fin01.pdf>. Available: Jan. 16, 2006.

papers had to be translated from Russian or German into English. The editors are particularly grateful to Dr. des. Rufat Sattarov (Berlin/Baku) and Dr. Kathrin Möller (Berlin) for their great commitment in the translation of these contributions. The extensive correspondence with the authors and the demanding preparation of this volume for publication lay in the hands of Brigitte Heuer, who also participated in the translation process. Without her unrelenting devotion this project would not have materialized.

The editors would like to thank all authors and participants for sharing their research findings and expertise. Without the generous financial support of the VolkswagenStiftung (Hannover) and the Academia Europaea (London) the symposium would not have taken place. Their interest in the important aims of the conference made it a success. VolkswagenStiftung and Academia Europaea also made possible the printing of this book. The financial and administrative help of Freie Universität Berlin is also gratefully acknowledged. The editors extend their sincere thanks to Prof. Dr. Florian C. Reiter, the editor of the *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, for including the volume in this prestigious series.

A Note on Transliteration

The spelling of the authors' family names follows their personal preference. Otherwise, Russian, Ukrainian, and Crimean Tatar (in Cyrillic) names and terms follow the transliteration schemes of the Library of Congress², with the deviation that *й* and *ц* are transliterated simply as 'i' and 'ts', *ю* and *я* are rendered as 'yu' and 'ya'. For Bashkir, see the note on page 145. Turkish names and terms are spelt according to modern Turkish orthography. In the case of Crimean Tatar names and terms that are found in different spellings in scholarly literature the spelling preferred by the author has been retained.

2 See the scanned text of the 1997 edition of the *ALA-LC Romanization Tables: Transliteration Schemes for Non-Roman Scripts*. URL: <http://www.loc.gov/cardir/sps/roman.html>. Available: Jan. 14, 2007.

Abbreviations

<i>A IV</i>	<i>Archiv für die Sächsische Geschichte, Band IV, Leipzig 1866</i>
<i>ADSV</i>	<i>Sbornik Antichnaya drevnost' i srednie veka</i>
<i>AN</i>	<i>Arkhiteturnoe nasledie</i>
<i>APU</i>	<i>Arkheolohichni pamyatki URSS</i>
<i>ASLSP</i>	<i>Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria</i>
<i>Cat.</i>	<i>Catalogue</i>
<i>CMA</i>	<i>Crimean Tatar Museum of Arts</i>
<i>CMIB</i>	<i>Comisiunea Monumentelor istorice, sectiunea Basarbia</i>
<i>ITIOAE</i>	<i>Izvestiya Tavricheskogo obchshestva istorii, arkheologii, ètnografii</i>
<i>ITUAK</i>	<i>Izvestiya Tavricheskoi uchenoi arkhivnoi komissii</i>
<i>KSIA</i>	<i>Kratkie soobshcheniya Instituta arkheologii</i>
<i>NA IV</i>	<i>Neues Archiv für Sächsische Geschichte und Altertumskunde, Band IV, Dresden 1883</i>
<i>RK, StKD</i>	<i>Rüstkammer, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden</i>
<i>ShAMG</i>	<i>Shalva Amiranashvili State Museum of Art of Georgia</i>
<i>SHStA</i>	<i>Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv</i>
<i>SMPK, MV</i>	<i>Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Museum für Völkerkunde (nowadays Ethnologisches Museum): I B 51, Bd. 5: Erwerbung ethnologischer Gegenstände Europa, 1936</i>
—	<i>I B Asien, Bd. 60: Erwerbung ethnologischer Gegenstände aus Asien, 1910</i>
<i>SMPK, ZA</i>	<i>Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Zentralarchiv: Gen. 26, Bd. II.: Handzeichnungen-Sammlung</i>
<i>ZOIOD</i>	<i>Zapiski Odesskago obchshestva istorii i drevnostei</i>

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- © of photos: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Photographers: Hans-Peter Klut/Elke Estel, Dresden

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Neglected Research Topics – Some Remarks

Joachim Gierlichs

In contrast to other regions and centres of the Islamic world, research on the art and architecture of the Crimean Peninsula, the Caucasus, and the Volga-Ural region is only just beginning. There are many reasons for this long neglect, but the political situation since the 1930s, which largely led to an isolation of these regions, must be regarded as the main cause. To be sure, the disintegration of the former Soviet Union and the resulting creation of independent republics lifted some of the restrictive borders. However, the extremely difficult political, social, and economic conditions in the new states enabled only few scholars to make direct contacts with colleagues in the western world or to be engaged with them on a regular and permanent basis. The greatest obstacle for such potentially fruitful intellectual interchange and mutual enrichment has been the lacking knowledge of the relevant scholarly literature, which is true for both sides. Even when publications are known to exist, they are frequently either unobtainable or unintelligible due to language barriers.

The international symposium *Crimea, Caucasus, and the Volga-Ural region: Islamic art and architecture in the European Periphery* aimed at starting to build a bridge and provide scholars and museum curators with an opportunity to present their research and materials regarding the regions named above to their colleagues in the west.

To our regret, the Volga-Ural region was under-represented at the symposium. This was for the most part due to the fact that scholars working there were unable to come to Berlin. On the other hand, research on the architecture and, above all, the arts and crafts of the Golden Horde has considerably advanced in recent years. This became evident at several large exhibitions in St. Petersburg, Leoben (Austria), and Kazan (Tatarstan) and was documented in comprehensive, well illustrated exhibition catalogues.¹ Due to the vast geographical expanse and the length of historical time, many interesting aspects of Islamic art and architecture of the Crimean Peninsula were not covered at the symposium and are not included in this publication. The following article points to a few further topics that should be taken up in future research. It will focus on the Caucasus, on Daghestan, and especially on the collections in Tbilisi, “art marketplace” at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, as well as on some unknown collections of Islamic art in the Ukraine.² It is

1 Cat. St. Petersburg (2000); Cat. Leoben (2002); Cat. St. Petersburg (2005).

2 The selection of topics merely reflects the interest and knowledge of the author and should *not* be seen as an overview, which unfortunately does not yet exist.

to be hoped that at a second meeting, already under consideration, one or the other topic might be dealt with more extensively.

The art and architecture of the North Caucasus with its historical centre Kubachi, famous for its so-called Kubachi ware³ and a series of iconographically interesting figurative stone reliefs from the Middle Ages, have been largely forgotten in our times. The reliefs had already been widely scattered by the 1930s, when they were first mentioned in the scholarly literature.⁴ Initially, they had been compared with Seljuk works of Anatolia⁵, which led to dating them back to Seljuk times (12th/13th centuries) without substantiating reasons. A later dating to the 14th or even the 15th century has been suggested in the volume *"Iskusstvo Kubachi"* (The art of Kubachi)⁶ published in the mid 1970s. The iconographic repertoire ranges from emblematic single figures to more narrative scenes, such as the so-called military game represented on the stone relief that had been transferred from the Makhachqala Museum in Daghestan to the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad (Inv. no. TP-112, TP-118, TP-119a, b) in 1928.⁷ In the early years of the 20th century⁸, many of the Daghestan stone reliefs found their way into various collections in Europe and the USA, e.g., the one in the holdings of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, recently attributed to the period of the Golden Horde (15th century).⁹ Such later dates are supported by a stone relief in the State Museum of the History of Armenia in Yerevan. It depicts Amir Hasan II hunting¹⁰ who reigned in the early 14th century.¹¹ This relief demonstrates that we should not neglect the material of the "Christian" Caucasus, which at that time was in close contact and favoured artistic exchange with the "Muslim" part of that region.¹²

Except for some articles on carpets and textiles,¹³ nothing has been published on the art of Daghestan since the days of the Soviet Union, when such publications as

3 The term "Kubachi ware" was first used by Arthur Lane in the 1930s. See Lane (1939), pp. 156–62. For a more recent study, see Golombek (1993).

4 The basic research has been done by Bashkirov (1931).

5 See Sarre (1936), fig. 36, pl. 17a, b.

6 See Alichanov – Ivanov (1976), *passim*.

7 See Alichanov – Ivanov (1976), fig. 31; Cat. Kuwait (1990), p. 24, cat. no. 60.

8 See the article by Salmony (1943), pp. 153–63, which has been the standard reference for a long time.

9 First published by Dimand (1938), pp. 260–62, fig. 1; for a new dating and attribution see "Tympanum [Daghestan region, Caucasus (probably Kubachi)] (38.96)". In: *Timeline of Art History*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000.

URL: http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/ho/07/waa/hod_38.96.htm (October 2006).

10 The scene shows the riding *amir* turning back to shoot an animal, the famous Parthian shot.

11 Inv. nos. 1320-197; 1321-197; 1322-197. The relief originates from the facade of the Spita-kavor church in Yeghegnadzor; published in: Cat. Bochum (1995), p. 170, fig. 131.

12 To this date, only a few attempts have been made to research the relationships between Islamic and Christian medieval architecture in that region; see e.g., Otto-Dorn (1978/79), pp. 103–49, *passim*, and the article by Mine Kadiroğlu in this volume.

13 Chenciner (1993).

the aforementioned volume “*Iskusstvo Kubachi*”¹⁴ or other collective works¹⁵ appeared, which provide an overview from medieval times to the 20th century. There is a lack of systematic monographic works or articles, of presentations of new findings as well as of existing material. At least in the West, nothing is known about the whereabouts of art objects and in what shape they may be now. Such scholarly work could be the basis for a much needed “History of the Art of the Caucasus in the Middle Ages”, which, as mentioned above, should not omit the interesting interrelations between Armenia and Georgia on the one hand, and Daghestan, on the other.

How important a better knowledge of the development of the arts in this region might be, shows the example of a piece of metal work, which has been assigned to different regions and dynasties: A so-called war mask in the Nasser Khalili Collection in London, belonging to a group of similar objects¹⁶, has lately been connected with the Caucasus area¹⁷, while at the end of the 1980s it was still regarded and published as Timurid¹⁸.

Anyone who pays a visit to the historically important capital of Georgia, Tbilisi, must be impressed by the number of different styles of architecture found within close proximity of each other. Besides a number of “oriental” houses, reaching back to the time when the capital was under Persian-Ottoman domination,¹⁹ we find private houses as well as official buildings from the second half of the 19th and beginning 20th centuries, which – although occidental in style – undoubtedly bear Islamic ornamental elements, a matter still waiting to be looked into.²⁰ Especially interesting – to mention just one example – is a house in Chonkadze Street decorated with a Muqarnas frieze (figs. 1, 2). An inscription mentions Mirza Reza Khan, Persian Consul General in Tbilisi from 1889 to 1894.²¹

14 Alichanov – Ivanov (1976); the comprehensive summary written in English by Anatoli Ivanov also provides a short “history of research”.

15 Chirkov (1971).

16 Inv. no. MTW 1390. Another mask found its way into the Museum of Islamic Art in Doha, Qatar. It was recently published and attributed to Western Iran or (Eastern) Anatolia; see Allan (2002), pp. 48–49, cat. no. 11; Cat. London (2005), pp. 208–09, cat. no. 154, p. 415.

17 See Rogers (2000a), p. 141, cat. no. 83.

18 See Lentz – Lowry (1989), p. 240, cat. no. 134; a Turkmen provenance has been suggested as well.

19 In the 16th to 18th centuries, Georgia was dominated by the Ottomans as well as by the Safavids. In 1783 it made a contract with Russia, which was useless, as Persian Qajar troops destroyed Tbilisi in 1794. In 1801, Georgia was annexed by the Russian Empire.

20 After independence was declared in 1991, due to the rapid changes taking place, the great danger has been that historical buildings, which are in bad condition, will not be restored but demolished to make place for new ones.

21 See Bulia – Janjalia (2002), pp. 140–41, no. 87 (no details of the Muqarnas frieze can be recognized). The author plans a research project on the Islamic decoration of 19th/20th century houses in Tbilisi. Many thanks to Marine Kenia and Nato Tsintsabadze, ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites) Tbilisi, for providing information.

Even more impressive is the rich stock of the Museum of Fine Arts in Tbilisi,²² not far from Revolution Square (formerly Lenin Square). It holds an outstanding collection of Qajar art (see the article by Irina Khoshoridze on Qajar oil paintings in this volume), presumably the largest collection outside Iran. Moreover, we have high-quality objects from the Middle Ages, many of them unpublished. Some of these extraordinary pieces have been published only in conjunction with the holdings of the Hermitage in St. Petersburg, in a book meant for a wider public²³, *i.e.*, with the assumption that the ordinary reader might not quite realize the different origins of the works of art. Let me mention two examples: a bronze cauldron bearing the inscription of master Abu Bakr ibn Ahmad Marwazi, as well as a big brass tray with silver inlay (69 cm in diameter), believed to depict a remarkable figurative scene at the centre of its inner field: above the ruler's head, angels are holding the sun's orb in their hands.²⁴ The big bronze cauldron (about 52–53 cm in diameter) belongs to a group of seven identical cauldrons, all said to come from Abu Bakr's workshop in Merv.²⁵ Moreover, it is quite an interesting statement that “most of the cauldrons of this master come from Daghestan (*i.e.*, they were either bought there or may now be found in various collections)”.²⁶

In the Museum of Georgian History – now the National Museum – we also have a series of top quality objects, some of them important for showing the development of medieval metal art. Among them is a signed metal jug attributed to the 10th/11th century²⁷ and, in particular, a jug with figurative decoration dated to the month of Shaban in the year 577 AH (10th December 1181 to 7th January 1182)²⁸, bearing the master signature of Mahmud b. Muhammad Harawi (from Herat).²⁹

In the 19th century, Tbilisi, or Tiflis as the capital of Georgia was called in Russian until 1936, was a lively place of commerce, where one could meet people of a wide variety of professions and ethnic background. The French consul reported in the 1830s: „In Tbilisi kann man an einem einzigen Tag Händler aus Paris, Kuriere aus Petersburg, Kaufleute aus Konstantinopel, Engländer aus Kalkutta und Madras,

22 At the beginning of the 20th century, the building was used as a seminary for popes (Orthodox priests): the most-well known student was Jossif Vissarionovich Dzhughashvili (known as Stalin).

23 See Lukonin – Iwanov (1996); the book has been published also in English and French.

24 See Lukonin – Iwanov (1996), p. 155, cat. no. 147. The depiction cannot be made out in the illustration.

25 According to Lukonin – Iwanov (1996), p. 139, cat. no. 119, these cauldrons should have been made in Merv (Turkmenistan). See also Mayer (1959), p. 24, mentioning three objects (however, not the one in Tiflis).

26 Lukonin – Iwanow (1996), p. 139.

27 This signature is possibly *amala al-Fadl*, see Lukonin – Iwanow (1996), p. 126, cat. no. 104.

28 The complete inscription was published by Lukonin – Iwanow (1996), pp. 136–37, cat. no. 117. Eva Baer (1983), p. 349, note 33, gives by mistake the date of 557 AH/1181 AD. The jug was first published in *Cat. Tiflis* (1902), p. 199, pl. 15.

29 Another similar but undated jug is kept in the Hermitage, see *Cat. Kuwait* (1990), p. 18, cat. no. 35, illustration on p. 62 (Arabic page numbering).

Armenier aus Smirna und Usbeken aus Buchara treffen, denn diese Stadt kann sich rühmen, Knotenpunkt zwischen Europa und Asien zu sein.“³⁰

Around the turn of the 19th to the 20th century, the town must have been a good place for acquiring Islamic art objects. Several objects in the Berlin Museum of Islamic Art prove this, according to the inventories Tiflis is the provenance.³¹ Two metal works were acquired by Friedrich Sarre (1865–1945) during one of his Middle East journeys at the end of the 19th century. In 1904, Sarre became the first director of the Islamic department of the Royal Berlin Museum, which shortly before had been called into being by Wilhelm von Bode (1845–1929). Sarre’s collection had till then been displayed, on loan, in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin. In 1922, a majority of it, about 750 objects, mainly metal work and ceramics, was given to the “Islamische Museum” as a donation. On that occasion, Sarre gave a short overview on his collection from which we cite:

„Aus den Basaren und von den Antiquitätenhändlern in Konstantinopel, Kairo, Aleppo, Tiflis, Teheran, Isfahan, Buchara und anderen, auch kleineren Städten des Orients stammt ein großer Teil meiner Sammlung. [...] So konnte ich im Jahre 1898 die schöne sasanidische Bronzekanne [...] und einen wegen seiner Darstellungen besonders wichtigen tauschierten Mossulleuchter [...] von dem Apotheker Roinoff in Tiflis erhandeln [...].“³²

The “Sasanian” jug with a handle twisted like a rope – today ascribed to the 8th–9th century (so-called post-Sasanian period) – was already shown at the *Exposition des Arts Musulmans* in Paris (1903).³³ The Mosul candleholder is important due to its iconographic programme: the big foot shows figurative representations on eight outer panels,³⁴ in addition to sitting figures (among them a prince on his throne) and antithetical pairs of animals, so-called double-headed eagles (two-headed birds of prey). Such representations are known from the art and architecture of the 13th

30 Translated after Kvastiani (2002), p. 146: “In Tbilisi, one can meet traders from Paris, couriers from St. Petersburg, merchants from Constantinople, Englishmen from Calcutta and Madras, Armenians from Smyrna and Uzbeks from Buchara, all in the course of a single day. This city can duly be called the hub between Europe and Asia.”

31 Here, the term “provenance” means, first of all, the place where the objects were acquired. As far as I know, no research has so far been done with the focus on the Caucasus as “art market”. Such a study (begun by the author) requires internal (*i.e.*, unpublished and sensitive) information from the various collections.

32 Sarre (1923), pp. 35–43, esp. p. 35. (Translation: “A large portion of my collection came from bazaars and antique dealers in Constantinople, Cairo, Aleppo, Tiflis, Isfahan, Bukhara and other cities, including smaller ones, of the Orient. [...] In 1898, for example, I could bargain for the beautiful Sasanian bronze jug [...] and a Mosul candleholder with precious-metal inlay, particularly important because of its figurative element [...], from the apothecary Roinoff in Tiflis [...].”)

33 Sarre (1906), p. 5, no. 4, fig. 1, and pl. II.

34 First published by Sarre (1906), pp. 13–14, no. 20, fig. 12; for a good illustration, see *Cat. Berlin* 1986, p. 96, cat. no. 145, p. 30 (colour plate).

century, especially in Seljuk Central Anatolia and in Artuqid south-eastern Anatolia and northern Mesopotamia.³⁵

Likewise from Tiflis – although obtained under completely different circumstances – comes the famous knocker with antithetical dragons “threatening” a lion’s head, which reached the Islamic Department of the Royal Museum in Berlin in 1913.³⁶ Ernst Diez (1884–1964) discovered it in Tiflis, and wrote the following:

„Während eines kurzen Aufenthaltes in Tiflis im Herbst 1912 wurde mir bei einer ansässigen Familie das hier veröffentlichte Bronzeobjekt gezeigt, dessen Ankauf für die islamische Abteilung des Kaiser-Friedrich-Museums in Berlin ich Herrn Professor Friedrich Sarre empfahl.“³⁷

Ernst Diez described the source only as “a local family”. In the meantime, the source was identified as the Georgian Prince Takaishvili,³⁸ who gained quite a name as an explorer of Georgian architecture in the Tao-Klarjeti area, today north-eastern Turkey.³⁹

The fact that the knocker had been in a private collection in Tiflis and was acquired there is of some interest since two nearly identical knockers were attached to the main portal of the Ulu Cami in Cizre (Jazirat b. Umar)⁴⁰ in south-eastern Turkey, up to the 1960s (fig. 3).⁴¹ In the 1970s, one of the knockers was stolen and later acquired by the David Collection in Copenhagen,⁴² while the other came to the Museum of Turkish Islamic Art in Istanbul.⁴³ In terms of their iconography, the three knockers are very similar,⁴⁴ however, clear differences can be observed between the

35 Sarre (1906), p. 14, called them *Doppelgreifen* (dual griffons), and compared them with Artuqid representations.

36 See J. Zick-Nissen in *Cat. Berlin 1979*, p. 17, no. 14 (with references), who mentioned only „Geschenk A. Francke – Kunsthandel 1912” (Present from A. Francke – Art Trade) (the article by Ernst Diez from 1921 is not quoted). See also Gierlichs (1993), p. 11, cat. no. 7, fig. p. 41 (on the iconography of the dragon); and *Cat. Berlin (2001)*, fig. on p. 66.

37 See Diez 1921, p. 18. (Translation: “During a short visit to Tiflis in the autumn of 1912, in a local family I was shown the bronze object published here and recommended its purchase to Prof. Friedrich Sarre for the Islamic department of the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum in Berlin.”)

38 The name is mentioned in two letters sent by the German ambassador, Graf von der Schulenburg, to Prof. Friedrich Sarre; see *SMB-ZA I/IM 11*, Blatt 49, Blatt 51. I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Jens Kröger (Museum of Islamic Art), Dr. Jörn Grabowski, and Mrs. E. Winter (Central Archives) for their friendly support of my research as well as for the permission to see the original documents.

39 Takaishvili, E. S. (1952).

40 See Preusser (1911), pl. 36.

41 Photo collection of Katharina Otto-Dorn (1908–1999), now part of the image archive “Das Bild des Orients, Berlin”. URL: <http://www.das-bild-des-orient.de/index.php?lang=de&op=home&mod=n&bd=1135&page=1>.

42 Inv. no. 38/1973; see Folsach (2001), p. 312, cat. no. 497.

43 Inv. no. 3749, published, among others, by Öney (1978), p. 170, fig. 141, and most recently in the exhibition *Cat. London (2005)*, pp. 130–31, cat. no. 87.

44 Of the same type is the pair of larger dragon knockers, now in the Khalili collection (MTW 1407, MTW 1428); see *Cat. Amsterdam (1999)*, pp. 68–69, no 3.

Berlin knocker and the pair from the Ulu Cami in Cizre with regard to stylistic details. One of the crucial questions that is still unanswered is whether the knocker in Berlin comes from the same workshop, *i.e.*, whether it has been cast in the same mould as the two knockers from Cizre.⁴⁵ Bearing in mind the stylistic differences and the place of acquisition, the question arises whether the knocker in the Berlin Museum of Islamic Art was only traded in Tiflis or got there later, for it is not known when and how it came into the possession of Prince Takaishvili,⁴⁶ or whether perhaps arguments might be found for the assumption that this knocker was not made in the Jazira, but perhaps in the Caucasus.⁴⁷

After all, the Caucasus area has for long been known as a centre for metal works, for example, the well known cauldrons in the Hermitage in St. Petersburg or in the Museum of Islamic Art in Teheran. The cauldron kept in the Hermitage (Inv.No. TP-175) is datable to the second half of the 14th century and, by its “exaggerated horizontal rim”⁴⁸, is attributed to Daghestan (Kubachi or Zarkan, a village west of Kubachi⁴⁹).

Other important metal works, which came to the Hermitage in the 1920s and 1930s, originate from the North Caucasus, Daghestan, and Chechnya. There is for example a bucket from the second half of the 15th century, acquired in 1926 in Kubachi,⁵⁰ now in the Hermitage (Inv. no. IR-2177). Of special interest, however, is an *aquamanile*, transferred in 1939 from the Chechen-Ingush Museum in Grozny to the Hermitage in St. Petersburg (Inv.No. IR-1567).⁵¹ It had been taken by Russian soldiers from an Ossetian shrine in the Central Caucasus.⁵² The bird figure made of bronze – a comparable object is found in the Museum of Islamic Art in Berlin (Inv. No. I. 5623)⁵³ – is dated by the inscription to the end of the 8th century AD (180 AH/796–97 AD). It bears a master’s signature (Sulaiman),⁵⁴ which poses

45 See the remarks by Almut von Gladiß in Cat. Berlin (2006), pp. 70–71, no. 26, who ultimately did not answer this question.

46 The author plans to conduct further research.

47 We will discuss this issue in detail in a separate study.

48 Measurements: 66 (height) x 66,5 (diam.) cm. See Cat. Kuwait (1990), pp. 26–27, cat.no. 72; Cat. Amsterdam (1999), p. 173, cat. no. 128.

49 According to Ivanov in: Alichanov – Ivanov (1976), p. 199, the name Kubachi is the Turkic form of the Persian *zirhgaran*, which means “makers of armour”. He also quotes the work of the Spanish traveller Abu Hamid al-Garnati of the 12th century, who mentioned that the inhabitants of two villages in Zirhgaran were “engaged in manufacturing weapons and copper objects.”

50 See Cat. Kuwait (1990), p. 29, cat. no. 79.

51 See Cat. Kuwait (1990), p. 24, cat. no. 1 (with references).

52 See Melikian-Chirvani, in: Sourdél-Thomine – Spuler (1973), p. 187 (who calls it an incense burner). Lukonin – Iwanow (1996), p. 111, cat. no. 84, mention the village of Ersi, where it had been venerated for a long time. However, this detailed information is not given in Cat. Kuwait (1990), p. 24, cat. no. 1. Regarding the interesting provenance and history of this object, further research is necessary.

53 J. Zick-Nissen in Cat. Berlin (1979), no. 234, gives as provenance only “art market”.

54 According to Melikian-Chirvani, in: Sourdél-Thomine – Spuler (1973), p. 187, Sulaiman

considerable problems as far as the reading and interpretation of the *nisba* are concerned: the name of the town can be read as *Madinat al-Fazz* (a quarter of Nishapur),⁵⁵ *Madinat Kashan* or *Madinat Kasan*, respectively.⁵⁶

Moving from the Caucasus to the Ukraine, the collections in the Khan Saray at Bahçesaray (fig. 4), the former palace of the Giray Khans on the Crimean peninsula, represent a desideratum of research. As far as I know, neither the numerous ethnographically interesting objects of a later date have been summarized, nor the *objets d'art* (in some cases of high quality) from the Middle Ages either.⁵⁷ These days, many of the objects can no longer be found in their original locations, however, with some effort they may at least be traced back. A crucial event was the conquest of the Crimea and the Palace of the Giray Khans in Bahçesaray by the Russian Tsarist Army in 1783. Almost 200 years later, important art objects were still taken from there to distant Leningrad. A piece of evidence for this may be a candlestick dated 725 AH/1325 AD, signed by master Ruh ad-Din Tahir, which was included in the inventory of the Hermitage in 1966 (Inv. no. IR-1980).⁵⁸

Other Islamic collections in the Ukraine are practically unknown in the West. The Museum of Western and Eastern Art in Odessa shows mainly Qajar objects – metal work and textiles (fig. 5)⁵⁹ –, but part of a ceramic frieze, probably datable to the Timurid period, for example, is also on display.

Even a greater surprise is the Islamic collection, formerly housed in the Museum of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev, now in the Bohdan and Varvara Khanenko Museum of Arts in Kiev.⁶⁰ This collection was formed by Bohdan Khanenko at the beginning of the 20th century and contains outstanding Islamic art objects, such as a dated Persian tile from Kashan with a depiction of Bahram Gur on a camel inscribed with Persian poetry on the border of the tile, or a miniature signed by the famous painter Reza Abbasi (1575–1635), dated 1037 AH/1627–28 AD. From the examples of the metal work I would like to mention two objects: firstly, an unusual bronze casket (fig. 6) dated to the 14th century with a rich iconographic programme showing various skills and techniques,⁶¹ secondly, a basin from the 13th

ordered the object.

55 See Mayer (1959), pp. 85, 92 (additions), based on (unpublished) information by D. S. Rice.

56 See Melikian-Chirvani in: Sourdél-Thomine – Spuler (1973), p.187, pl. XVI.

57 The archives possess documents, which could be used to reconstruct the former collection at least in part. Many thanks to Aliye Ibragimova and Oleksa Haiworonski, Bahçesaray, for their support and for providing information.

58 „Erhalten 1966 aus dem Museum für Geschichte und Architektur von Bachtchissarai“; see Lukonin – Ivanov (1996), p. 154, cat. no. 145 [“Received in 1966 from the Museum for History and Architecture of Bachtchissarai.”].

59 In his overview, J. M. Rogers only mentioned the Archaeological Museum founded by Catharine the Great in the 1770s; see Rogers (2000b), p. 63.

60 Many thanks to Svitlana Bilyayeva, Academy of Sciences, Kiev, who provided information as well as some photographic material.

61 The information is taken from “Art of Medieval Iran – a card set (text and assembling by Hanna Rudyck). Kiev 2005”.

century, ordered by the well-known ruler and art patron Badr ad-Din Lu'lu' who reigned in Mosul, northern Mesopotamia, from 1233 to 1259. While the inscription is well published, there is, to my knowledge, not even one good illustration available of this important object itself.

In some cases there is no need to go as far as to the areas we focus on here to find unexpected objects: a Caucasian dagger has made its way into the *Deutsche Klingensmuseum* in Solingen. The label on the show case dates it to 1254 AH (27 March 1838 to 16 March 1839).⁶² The dagger had been the property of the Russian Governor General of Georgia (1837–1842), Evgenii Aleksandrovich Golovin, whose name is supposedly engraved on the blade.⁶³

It is our hope that the few examples highlighted here could sketch out the wealth of archaeological and art-historical material in regions immediately adjacent to Western Europe that is waiting to be discovered and to be properly studied.

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62 The date 1854 AD given on the label is incorrect.

63 The author was able to identify the – to his knowledge unpublished – dagger by chance at the end of 2005 during a first visit to this museum. The collection was not included in the overview on Islamic Art in Germany by Gierlich – Hagedorn (2004).

- Cat. Sankt Petersburg (2000): Michail B. Piotrovskij (ed.). *Altyn Urda häzinäläre. Sokrovishcha Zolotoi Ordı. The Treasures of the Golden Horde*. Sankt-Peterburg 2000.
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Ukraine

Investigations of Akkerman Fortress

Yuriy Boltryk and Svitlana Bilyayeva

Akkerman Fortress is a very large monument with elements of Ottoman architecture in the north-western part of the Pontic area. The fortress, which has been preserved more or less intact, is situated on the right, high bank of the Dnister estuary, 18 km inland from the Black Sea (fig. 1). Today, it is part of a modern town, Bilhorod-Dnistrovs'kyi (Odessa region, Ukraine).

In ancient times, the town of Tira was situated here, remains of which can still be seen. In medieval times, a fortress was built at the mouth of the river Dnister. The exact date of its foundation is not known and there are several versions of when the first fortifications came into being. However, according to written records and archaeological investigations, by the end of the 13th and first part of the 14th century, Akkerman, also known as Belgorod, was a powerful fortress and also one of the biggest centres of craft and trade in the region.¹

The further history of the construction of the fortress can be separated into two main periods: the Moldavian period (from the end of the 14th century until 1484) and the Ottoman period (from 1484 until the end of the 18th century). Throughout this time, Akkerman represented an outstanding model of cohabitation of a defensive system (the fortress) and a settlement structure (the town).² The system of fortifications was created by several generations of masters of various architectural schools: from Byzantine to Ottoman. Besides, at every stage of construction some changes took place, in response to technological and military development.

The defensive complex consists of three parts:

- 1) The interior citadel: a rectangular fort, the place of residence for the commanders and the higher echelons of the garrison (fig. 2).
- 2) The system of fortifications, consisting of three lines of walls: the first trapezoidal wall area (garrison yard), the second wall (civil yard), and the third wall with the barbican (port yard).
- 3) The line of bulwarks (bastions), which are not preserved.

The total area of the fortress is more than nine hectares. The two kilometre long outer walls contain 34 towers and bastions and six gates.

We know that some parts of the fortress were constructed in 1440, for other parts we have no exact dates. We also do not know exactly when the citadel was built, but we know when several of its component parts were constructed. These include for the Moldavian period: the building or integral reconstruction of the curtains of the

1 A. A. Kravchenko 1986, p. 115.

2 M. Shlapak 2001, p. 233.

garrison yard in 1440; the building of the full towers of the same yard in 1454; the completion of the main entrance gate in 1476; and the construction of the civil yard walls in 1479.

For the Ottoman period, the following dates are available from the sources: the construction of the Great Mosque as well as numerous buildings and the bath in the port yard under the reign of Bayezid II (fig. 3) in 1484–1512; the repair of the entire fortress by the order of Sultan Murad III in 1576; the modification of the defensive complex in 1657 by the order of Sultan Mehmed IV; the construction of the bastioned line with the help of French architects in the beginning of the 18th century by the order of sultan Ahmed III (the first bastion was built in 1707); the reconstruction of the gun-powder magazine inside the citadel in 1756 during the reign of Sultan Osman III; the restoration and reconstruction of the *proteihisma* (outer wall) of the north-eastern side of the fortifications in 1777–78 by the Turkish architect Mehmed Tahir Ağa, during the reign of Sultan Abdulhamid I; the building of a storehouse and some dwellings inside the fortress in 1779 by the Turkish architect Mehmed Tahir Ağa; the restoration of four towers, the reconstruction of some artillery locations, and the construction of a *saranpo* (stockade) also by a Turkish architect, Seyyid Ömer, in 1793–1794; the reconstruction of the exterior bastion line by the order of Sultan Selim III; and, finally, the reconstruction of the defensive system in 1795–1797. Besides, as we know from the *Seyahat-name* by Evliyā Čelebi and from other visitors' remarks, inside the fortress were 1500 houses and three mosques, including the Great Mosque of Bayezid II (1481–1512). A *medrese* was situated on the market square, perhaps in the vicinity of the main gate.

All in all, from the end of the 15th century until the end of the 18th century, Akkerman was the most advanced military and trading post of the Ottoman Empire in this region. The Akkerman Fortress of the Ottoman era combined ancient and Byzantine traditions and dominated the whole Pontic area. It was a region, where Europe and Asia came into contact and engaged in cultural dialogue through contacts between nomads and the settled population. Investigations at Akkerman, as a centre of different cultural traditions and influences, are important to an understanding of all aspects of this process.

But in spite of the existence of numerous plans and the evidence of written records, many facets of the history of the fortress remain unknown.

Archaeological excavations on the territory of the fortress and its vicinity began in the early part of the 20th century, but the monuments of the Ottoman period were not given special consideration. In the course of the excavation of Tira, Ottoman layers were located in the citadel and in other parts of the fortress. Further discoveries were made in the course of the archaeological investigation of the medieval Belgorod which occupied the site between the end of the 13th and the 14th centuries.³

3 Shtern E., Nicorescu P., Avakian G., Kleymann I., Dmitrov L., Kravchenko N., Kryzyckij S., and others.

In 1998, in the course of the investigation of Akkerman Fortress, the remains of an Ottoman bath were discovered by Bozkurt Ersoy. It was the bath, mentioned by Evliyā Çelebi, the location of which had not been known until then.

In 1999, a cooperative project, the Turkish-Ukrainian expedition, began to study Ottoman monuments in the Akkerman Fortress. The main work was concentrated in the port yard (also known as Quarantine), which consists of several parts with different buildings and functions (fig. 4). The yard is situated between the north wall of the fortress and the barbican, an outer fortified tower for defence purposes (fig. 5). It was connected to the “civil yard” of the fortress by a gate, known as “upper Ovidiopol” (port or water gate), in tower N 22. Between the “water gate” and the “middle gate” there is another tower, N 23, which was built in the tradition of Oriental architecture, with many features of the Ottoman style. The “middle gate” is situated in tower N 24, which also shows some Oriental features.

The barbican, an Oriental element of fortification with three towers (N 25, N 27, not preserved, and N 28) protected the fortress from the side of the estuary. Tower N 28 was the main fortifying element of the barbican⁴, but now its condition is very bad due to many circumstances.

The barbican has three gates in its wall: the “water gate”, a barbican gate, and a gate known as “lower Ovidiopol”, which also led to the port yard. The whole area of the “port yard” is 1.5 hectares.

Until our investigation, the structural plan of the “port yard” or “quarantine yard” was not known. In the course of excavations in 1999–2002 and 2004, almost 15 per cent of the structure of the yard was discovered. The common square of the yard, which was under excavation and investigation, is nearly 858 square meters in size.

In the central part of the port yard, between the port gate and the barbican gate, remains of a bath were found. Its construction occupied almost 200 square meters, together with the system of technical communications nearly 300 square meters.

The next element of the structural plan of the port yard was the road paved with stones. It started at the port gate and led into the direction of the bath at the east side of the yard. The length of the part of the road, which was uncovered, was 25 meters, and the width nearly five meters.

In the course of the investigations, also a part of a tower of the barbican was discovered, whose location had been marked only in one plan from 1770. The tower was made of limestone with wood constructions inside. In 2004, a well near the tower was also discovered.

As a result of the excavations in the port yard, the layout of this part of the fortress was restored, which provides the basis for a better understanding of the functions of this part of the fortress. The bath functioned from the end of the 15th century and probably till the end of the 18th century, and later, after reconstruction, it was used as a weapons workshop and maybe as ordinance stores.

4 M. Shlapak 2001, p. 133.

Besides the work in the port yard, the expedition carried out an investigation of the minaret of the Great Mosque and of the civil yard of the fortress, and prepared a plan for excavations in other parts of the fortress, where objects of the Ottoman period may be uncovered.

In the course of the field work, a large and varied collection of artefacts was obtained. These reflect the mode of life of the population, and the manifold culture, art, trade, and military contacts in this region.

But in spite of our excavations, the structural plan and cultural layers of the greater part of the fortress have not yet been investigated. Such research will be necessary for a thorough understanding of the system of defence and the daily culture in the various periods during which Akkerman functioned as a fortress and settlement. The results of our work can provide the basis for such an understanding.

Besides, investigations of all parts of the fortress will be necessary and helpful to the conservation project of restoring some structures and creating a genuine museum complex. Continuing research and investigation in the Akkerman Fortress is very important to the study of the historical past and the cultural contacts between the Ottoman Empire and early modern Ukraine.

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Monuments of the Ottoman Period in the Ukraine: Archaeological Investigations (1989–2004)

Svitlana Bilyayeva and Bozkurt Ersoy

The historical development of the Ukraine and Turkey is connected with the Ottoman Empire, but for a long time special investigations of Ottoman culture and art in the Ukraine were not considered important.

In the last decade of the 20th century, a new development, *i.e.*, the purposeful archaeological investigation of Ottoman monuments in the Ukraine, took off. It started with the excavations in Ismail (A. Dobrolubsky) and in Ochakiv (S. Bilyayeva). Archaeological excavations at Akkerman began at the beginning of the 20th century (Ė. Shtern)¹, but monuments from the Ottoman period were not under special consideration. In addition, Ottoman layers were recorded in the course of excavations of the ancient site of Tira, inside the fortress (citadel), in other parts of the fortress, and also in the course of the archaeological investigation of the medieval site of Bilhorod (end of 13th–14th centuries) by the participating researchers P. Nicorescu, G. Avakian, L. D. Dmitrov, M. G. Rabinovich, and A. A. Kravchenko.²

In 1989, the expedition of the Institute of Archaeology, National Academy of Sciences of the Ukraine, began investigations and excavations of the Ottoman monuments in Ochakiv (Özü). The territory of the Old Fortress, the settlement, the “Turkish” rampart, and the underground town were investigated. More than 50 entrances and galleries from several periods were discovered.

In 1997 and 1998, a joint Turkish-Ukrainian expedition, headed by S. Bilyayeva and B. Ersoy (with financial support from the Turkish Historical Association and the municipal administration of Ochakiv), carried out excavations in the areas of the

1 Shtern, Ė. R.: O poslednykh raskopakh v Akkermane. In: *ZOIOD* (Odessa), 1901, no. 21, pp. 33–61; Shtern, Ė. R.: Raskopki v Akkermane letom 1912 g. In: *ZOIOD* (Odessa), 1913, no. 33, pp. 92–101.

2 Nicorescu, P.: *Cetatea Albă*. Craiova, 1931, p. 33; Nicorescu, P.: Fouilles de Tyras. In: *Dacia*, Bucuresti, 1933, No. 3–4, pp. 557–601; Avakian, G.: Sapaturile de la Cetatea Alba. In: *CMIB*, Chisinau, 1931, No. 3, pp. 47–104; Dmitrov, L. D.: Rozkopki v Tipi-Akkermani-Bilhorodi-Dnistrovs'komu. In: *Arkheolohiya* (Kyiv), 1979, pp. 210–211; Dmitrov, L. D.: Rozkopki v m. Bilhorodi-Dnistrovs'komu v 1947 r. In: *APU* (Kyiv), 1952, no. 4, pp. 39–52. Rabinovich, M. G.: Issledovanie srednevekovykh sloev Belgoroda-Dnestrovskogo v 1954 i 1958 gg. In: *KSIA* (Moskva), 1959, pp. 102–107; Kravchenko, A. A.: *Srednevekovi Belgorod na Dnestre (konec XIII–XIV v.)*. Kyiv, 1986.

former fortress and the urban settlement. As a result of the very complicated archaeological work, important information was obtained.

Archaeological investigations allowed ascertaining the location of the old town and settlement and its layout, and also the time and cultural roots of its origin and the chronology of the building periods. The first defensive system probably goes back to ancient times. Remains of the Greek and Roman periods could be verified in the historical centre of Ochakiv. According to the opinion of some researchers, the ancient town of Alector was situated there.

In medieval times, the urban settlement developed not later than in the second half of the 13th–14th centuries. On the territory of the oldest fortress, numerous finds of that time were discovered, such as pieces of graffito ceramics with ornamentation typical for the 13th–14th centuries, and also so-called *millet* pottery of the 14th–15th centuries. The rampart, which is absent on all the maps of Ochakiv but was determined in the course of the investigations, probably belonged to the same period. The culture of Ochakiv was similar to that of other urban settlements of the North Pontic area, which were under the strong influence of Byzantine traditions.

The next period is connected with the building of a small fortress on the ruins of the older one by the Crimean khan Mengli Geray in 1492–3. From 1525 onwards, Ochakiv became part of the Ottoman Empire. The Old Fortress was constructed of wood, and was damaged many times by Cossacks. The fortifications of this period are not preserved. But on the site of this fortress, some Iznik pottery belonging to the so-called Damascus group (1520–1555) and Rhodian group (1550–1600) were discovered. In addition, pieces of ceramics of the graffito style with decorations belonging to the 16th century were found. Another important find, dated to the 16th century, is a silver-coated bronze belt, albeit in fragments. It includes a buckle and three metal plates, silver-coated, which look like a six petal rosette with a “three leaves” décor.

Starting at the beginning of the 17th century, four fortresses were being constructed. The main fortress, Özü, was built on the place of the Old Fortress on the high bank of the estuary. On the other hill a mosque was built. The central part of it is preserved to this time. The remains of building structures and artefacts (glazed pottery, early patterns of ceramics from Kütahya, pipes, and others) were located on several sites of the excavations.

An interesting object, which was situated behind the fortress, probably belonged to this time. It is a yurt-like construction. The collection of finds from it is dated not later than the 17th century. Evliyā Çelebi, who visited Ochakiv in the middle of the 17th century, called such a construction a “nomad dwelling”. The same type of construction behind the wall of the fortress is on one of the maps of Ochakiv from the 18th century.

More numerous are the remains of buildings and artefacts belonging to the cultural layer of the 18th century (fig. 1), scattered through all the sites of the excavations.

On the territory of the Old Fortress (the site called "Synagogue"), the remains of a monumental stone building, parts of a yard, and the wall around it were investigated. According to a Turkish coin from the period of Suleyman II (1687–1691) (fig. 2), these remains belong to the layer from the first part of the 18th century.

On the other site of the excavations, not far from the mosque (the site called "Levada"), a water pipe and the remains of a building were discovered. The building consists of several sections, and some fragments (terracotta pipes, channels for hot air, pieces of window glass), that may have belonged to a bath, have been located. Because the building is in ruins, it is difficult to determine its functional purpose. This complex was dated by a cornelian stone from a signet ring (fig. 3), which bears the date 1163 (1750), the inscription "Ismail" and flowers with leaves. By this and other finds, the cultural layer can be dated to the first half or middle of the 18th century.

Building remains and numerous materials of the second half of the 18th century can be found on all sites of the excavations, but so can numerous signs of a complete destruction of the fortress, such as cannon balls, bombs, and ash. The destruction took place in 1788, when Ochakiv was stormed by Russian troops.

The collection of finds from Ochakiv includes more than 6000 artefacts, which give insight into the mode of life of the population, its culture, and trade relations. There are kitchen and food ware, ceramics with graffito, glazed ware with green, yellow, and brown glaze, and multicoloured glaze, china, pipes, and other kinds of things. Among the imported goods are found products from the Turkish centres of artistic ceramics, Iznik (fig. 4) and Kütahya (the last was more widespread in Ochakiv, see fig. 5), and also imports from China (fig. 6).

Very precious and copious finds are pipes for smoking (nearly 400 pipes or pieces of pipes) from the 17th–18th centuries. Pipes decorated with geometrical and floral ornamentation, sometimes with zoomorphic and anthropomorphic signs. Many of them have marks (from one to three): birds, fish, rosettes, and letters with the name of the master. Some pipes are decorated with marble. The most representative and rich pipes were decorated with gold paint and white paste. One type of pipe was made of jade (fig. 7), and one of meerschaum. The last one has incrustations of blue glass, for instance, an "eye against evil", and ornaments like three full moons (fig. 8). The pipes were imported from Anatolia, and were also produced in Ochakiv's urban settlement, not far from the mosque. There, some similar examples of unburned pipes were found.

Ochakiv's collection includes also numerous objects of glass, bone, and metal (iron, bronze, copper, and silver). Among the metal things are more than thirty coins from the 17th–18th centuries, some of them minted in Constantinople.

In addition to the investigations in Ochakiv, in 1998 archaeological research was carried out in Bessarabia (Akkerman, Kilia, and Ismail). It was established that no fortifications have been preserved in Kilia. In Ismail, the fortress had been pulled down in the middle of the 19th century as a result of the Paris peace agreement (1856), but some remnants are still there. In Ismail the mosque (without a minaret) is

preserved, a model of classic Ottoman architecture of the 16th century. Inside the mosque, the *mihrab* was discovered. For a long time, the building was used as a military and history museum, devoted to the events of the Russian-Turkish war. Its structural condition is bad, due to ground water and the absence of ventilation.

In Bilhorod–Dnistrovs’kyy (Odessa region) is situated the biggest monument of the Ottoman presence in the North Pontic area, Akkerman Fortress, a very interesting and prospective object for archaeological research. In the course of the investigations of the port yard, B. Ersoy discovered the remains of an Ottoman bath, mentioned in the book of Evliyā Ćelebi who visited Akkerman in 1658. According to Evliyā Ćelebi, the bath was built during the reign of Sultan Bayezid II (1481–1512).

In 1999–2002 and in 2004, the Turkish-Ukrainian expedition carried out excavation work in the port yard, and the structural layout was established. The bath, remains of the barbican (an outer fortified tower for defence purposes), a well, and a road covered by stones were excavated.³

The bath was obviously built at the end of the 15th or beginning of the 16th century. This dating is supported by the find of a copper coin from the time of Bayezid II. The bath occupied nearly 200 square meters and was rectangular in layout. The entire bath and its technical system take up nearly 400 square meters, but exact dimensions will be established after all the work is finished and the results of the data from 2004 can be analyzed.

The bath was used in the 16th–17th centuries. It had been repaired and changed its function probably in the 18th century. The bath belongs to the type of traditional Turkish baths, but is smaller than the baths in the Anatolian region. The walls of the bath are made of stone, mainly limestone, and of red brick. The roof was covered with plates of lead; numerous pieces of these plates were found in the bath. The hot section of the bath had a dome. Inside, the walls were covered with plaster and whitewash, and traces of paint have been found.

In the course of the excavation, the main section of the bath was discovered: the disrobing room (*soyunmalık*), a tepidarium (*ılıkık*), and a hot room (*sıcaklık*) (fig. 9). Light entered the bath through glass put into round openings in the roof. Numerous pieces of this glass of a light green and grey colour were found in the bath. Also discovered were the heating place (*külhan*) and part of the water depot. The bath, as a complicated engineering construction, had an underground section (*cehennemlik*) with a fireplace from where hot smoke circulated through channels between the bases that supported the thin floor. The bases were of rectangular or square shape, each of them was stacked by ten rows of red brick. The height of each base is 0,75 metre. The floor of the underground section was covered with red tiles, square or rectangular in shape. Channels for the hot air in the form of vertical

3 Financial support for the expedition was provided by the Turkish Historical Association (TTK) in 1999–2002; by the Turkish governmental organization TİKA (Turkish International Cooperation Administration) and the administration of Odessa region in 2004.

terracotta pipes, openings for the hot air, and channels and pipes for clean and dirty water were also discovered.

The collection of finds of the material culture and art of the port yard and bath includes more than 5000 objects from the 13th–18th centuries. They reflect different stages of the fortress' development, spanning the time of the Golden Horde, the Moldavian principality, and the Ottoman Empire. The finds include various kinds of ceramics, pipes, adornments, coins, weapons, and other things.

A comparative analysis with the finds from Ochakiv shows some differences between the collections. As established earlier by L. D. Dimitrov and A. A. Kravchenko, Akkerman was not only under the influence of the Byzantine Empire, but also had local ceramic workshops for the production of graffito ceramics and glazed ware, which operated from the 14th century onwards. Graffito ceramics are represented by several types of production, including some objects with monograms, which were unknown in Ochakiv. In the course of our investigations this assumption was supported by finds of unfinished and spoilage vessels.

In Ochakiv, imports from Kütahya prevailed, while in Akkerman products from Iznik and Kütahya are represented in almost equal numbers. The ware from Akkerman also includes numerous fragments of ceramics of the so-called Milet style and from the early Iznik production, *i.e.*, from the blue and white period, and the so-called Rhodes and Damascus periods.

The collection of tobacco pipes from the 17th–18th centuries is large (more than 200 pipes and pieces) and there are many more pipes originating in the 17th century than in Ochakiv. The pipes are decorated with geometrical and floral ornamentation. Many of them have marks (from one to three): bird, fish, rosette, and letters with the name of the master. Among them are some fragments of *chibouk* decorated with Arabic letters.⁴ A very interesting pipe was found in 2004. It is a pipe of white clay with a realistic image of the face of an old man. But in contrast to Ochakiv, no pipes made from jade or meerschaum have been found in Akkerman. A part of the collection represents adornments made from silver and bronze: buckles, rings, pendants, and others.

The collection of coins from Akkerman includes nearly 300 pieces. Among them are copper, bronze, and silver coins, and one gold coin. Most originated in the territory of the Ottoman Empire. The gold coin was found in 2004. It is dated 1004 (1595/96), *i.e.*, from the reign of Sultan Mehmed III, son of Sultan Murad III, and minted in Constantinople. The dimensions of the coin are 2,0 x 2,0 cm (fig. 10).

The bath in Akkerman is the earliest one found in the North Pontic area and the only bath preserved, except for those in the Crimea. It is a very important task to preserve this unique Ottoman monument and to present it as part of the Akkerman Fortress, as a museum "in the open air". It is necessary to create a special conservation project for the remains of the bath, to restore some parts, and to discuss all

4 *Chibouk* or *chibouque* is a long-stemmed Turkish tobacco pipe with a claybowl, often ornamented with precious stones.

possible variants with architects and restorers. Another aspect of this task is the financial support for carrying out the complex work. In 2004, a special government program for the restoration and utilization of Akkerman Fortress came into effect in the Ukraine. The Turkish side has also expressed interest in preserving the Turkish bath in the fortress. Hopefully, we will find support to preserve this unique monument of the historical legacy of Turkey and the Ukraine.

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A Golden Horde Complex in Podolia

Ninel Bokii, Irina Kozyr, and Tatyana Pozywei

The late 13th and early 14th centuries are a period in the medieval history of the Ukraine that has, as yet, barely been researched. During this time the former Kievan Rus' was politically and economically dependent on the Golden Horde, which had its heyday in the mid 14th century. Thereafter, the Golden Horde went through a profound inner crisis, which was additionally intensified by the menace of the Great Lithuanian Principality on the western borders. The military confrontation between these two states took place in 1362 in Podillya (Podolia), in the territory that now belongs to Kirovograd next to the village Torgovytsa, on the banks of the river Synyukha, which is a tributary of the river Bug further south.¹ The Golden Horde lost the battle, which led to a new division of the territory of Podniprovia, and to the annexation of Podillya by the Lithuanian state. This is precisely the line where the territories of the Golden Horde ended.²

Between 1997 and 1998, the State University for Pedagogical Studies in Kirovograd began to explore the necropolis and the remains of a town in Torgovytsa, which belonged to the Golden Horde territory. Today the trunk road to Kiev runs through Torgovytsa and across the river Synyukha. The bridge is located between the necropolis on the right-hand side (to the north) and the remains of the town from the time of the Golden Horde on the left-hand side (to the south).

In the past decades more and more evidence of the former existence of a town has come to light. During a flood in the spring of 1980, a stretch of the riverbank on the right-hand side was submerged, and remains of flagstones and brickwork were brought to light in the flooded area. According to the local population, a considerable number of "Tatar" coins were found. Nearby, on one of the farms, part of a water system was discovered during agricultural work, *i.e.*, a single piece of ceramic pipe between 0,5 and 1 metres in length.

To the north of the bridge, also on private property, remains of clay ovens (*tandyr*) were discovered by coincidence at a depth of 2 metres (fig. 1). *Tandyr* no. 1 was partly destroyed. It had the shape of a cylinder, with a diameter of 0,8–0,9 metres and walls ranging in depth from 5 to 6 cm. A layer of ash of approximately 20 cm was found at the bottom of the oven as well as a small receptacle in which

1 Strykowski, Macej: *Kronica Polska, Litewska, Zmódzka i wszystkiej Rusi*. Warszawa, 1846, Part 2, pp. 6–7.

2 Shabul'do, Feliks: Sin'ovods'ka bitva 1362 r. u suchasni naukovi interpretatsii. In: *Central'na Ukraïna za dobi klasichnoho seredn'ovichchya: studii z istorii XIV str.* Kyiv, 2003, pp. 8–10.

lumps of melted metal had accumulated, 6 cm in diameter and 8 cm in height. *Tandyr* no. II, also cylinder-shaped, with a diameter of 0,6–0,7 metres, is well-preserved. It had obviously been built to replace the destroyed *tandyr* no. III. Smaller in size, *tandyr* no. II was built into the remaining lower part of the walls of *tandyr* no. III. At the bottom of *tandyr* no. II, which also contained a thick layer of ash, there is an opening for a ceramic pipe, used for pumping oxygen into the oven. The ovens in question were used for the preparation of food, for baking bread and for heating, but also for the production of tools. They were typical of many towns of the Golden Horde, but not of the local culture.³

The most interesting finds are the remains of a building that can be classified as a Turkish bath (*hamam*). Despite the fact that the investigation has not yet been completed, the excavations carried out so far already make it possible to draw conclusions regarding specific elements and the structure of the building. The bath is a brick building without foundation. In several places, amounting to approximately 20 per cent of the total area, massive ledges served as a natural foundation. In order to obtain an even surface for construction, some sections were levelled with pieces of brick and building rubble of various kinds. The walls, 0,8 metres in depth, consist of bricks (0,22 x 0,22 metres, and 5 cm in depth) and a lime solution. Limestone was also used for the construction of the walls, but this only applies to a small section of one of the walls, 0,5 metres in height. A doorway was discovered in this wall, and another one at a distance of 4 metres, both approximately 0,7 metres wide. Next to it one can see the remains of a pink piece of limestone, mixed with ground brick.

The floor of this building was discovered 0,65–0,8 metres below the ground. It consists of a type of clay solution applied to the ground previously levelled with rubble, giving it the appearance of whitewash with a rosy tone.

An interesting device served to protect the building against humidity. On the outside wall, in a sector without rocks, a special notch, 0,5 metres in width, was built to divert the rainwater coming from the roof. The notch consisted of two rows of stone. Remains and imprints of wood discovered on the back of the limestone indicate that an additional piece of notched wood was originally installed between the two rows of stone.

So far the excavations have not brought to light any remains of the roof, but a heating system was discovered beneath the floor. It consisted of parallel and radial channels made of brick, 0,25 metres in width, linked in a unified network. They were covered with flat stone slabs as well as with baked and unbaked bricks, immediately beneath the floor of the building. A big receptacle was discovered on the stone cover of one of the channels, with a central opening at the bottom (8 cm in diameter). The outer surface of this receptacle was covered with a clay solution, and

3 Bokii, N. M., Kozyr, I. A.: *Seredn'ovichna pam'yatka bilya s. Torgovitsi na Kirovohradshchini*. In: *Arkheolohichni doslidzhennya*. 2001. Kyiv, 2002, pp. 90–93; Karashevich, Irina: *Zoloto-ordins'ke misto bilya s. Torgovitsi na Kirovohradshchini*. In: *Seredn'ovichni starozhitnosti Pivdennoi Rusi-Ukraini*. Chernihiv, 2003, p. 29.

a thick greyish white layer in the middle still remains. It is to be assumed that the receptacle was used as an incense burner.

Furthermore, the finds include a bench, consisting of square bricks and coated with pink stucco, measuring 4 metres in length, 0,7–0,8 metres in width, and 0,3 metres in height. It is perpendicular and was built close to the discovered part of the outer wall in the north-western sector.

Numerous remains of ceramic pipes were found on the floor, including a piece of a water pipe (fig. 2). However, it cannot be said with certainty what it was used for. It is an assembled pipe, 0,4 metres long and 14 cm in diameter, fitted into a peculiar brick tube with lime mortar. The finds also include a piece of a joint-shaped water pipe with a capped end. Such pipes were probably used for installation beneath walls or in the corners of rooms. The excavated remains of clay pipes can thus be divided into two types, *i.e.*, pipes with a diameter of 15 cm and pipes with a diameter of 10–12 cm (the sides of the latter were also much thinner). Obviously the pipes with the bigger diameter and thicker sides were used for water conduits outside the building, whereas the others were installed indoors.

The parts of the building that have been uncovered to date amount to a total area of 160 square metres. The following conclusions can be drawn from the excavations already carried out. The location of the object in the immediate vicinity of the river, the existence of a highly efficient heating system, the numerous remains of pipes and the particularities of the interior give rise to the assumption that the discovered building is a Turkish bath (*hamam*).⁴ Such buildings are typically Oriental in accordance with their origins.⁵

As already mentioned, the building in Torgovytsa had a system of heating channels and receptacles beneath the floor. Both the receptacles and the *tandyr* have their origins in Central Asia and more remote Eastern regions. The receptacles of the classical Central Asian type were usually of a rectangular shape. The origin of the ovens used for heating remains unclear, but judging from the investigations conducted during the excavations of 2004 an answer to this question is to be expected in the coming years. Certain parallels suggest that the *tandyr* is of the same type as those found during the excavations in ancient Orkheus (Podniprovo'ya). The *hamam* in the village Kuchugursk near Zaporozh'ya was heated with the help of an immense brick oven built on a stone foundation. Such buildings, *i.e.*, *hamam*, as well as specific receptacles used for the heating system, were part of the traditional urban culture of the Golden Horde. The separate pieces of the ceramic water pipes were assembled and fastened with lime mortar. On the right-hand side of the river Dnepr

4 Voronina, V. L.: Bani-khammam u narodov Sovetskogo Soyuz a stran zarubezhnogo Vostoka. In: *Arkhiturnoe nasledstvo* (Moskva). 1983, No. 31.

5 Zilivinskaya, É. D.: Bani Zolotoi Ordy. In: *Praktika i teoriya arkheologicheskikh issledovaniy*. Moskva, 2001.

(ukr. Dnipro) and in Podnistrov'e parts of ceramic pipes of this kind were only found among remains dating back to the period of the Golden Horde.⁶

Let us now turn to the necropolis, which is located on a slope on the right-hand side of the river Synyukha. It has been largely destroyed due to age-old and new steep slopes as well as by thaw and rainwater. The total area of the necropolis is 5000 square metres. 210 interments of men, women, and children have been investigated. The ordinary graves are arranged in regular rows.

The dead were buried in supine position, with their heads pointing southwest. The shrouds and the burial objects cannot be considered as evidence of great wealth – so far several iron knives, bronze ornaments and silver earrings, necklaces and badges, a remnant of cloth, an iron lock, and many iron nails have been found. A few objects designed for ritual purposes have also come to light. However, with the exception of a small piece, which can be classified as Volga-Bulgarian⁷, no remains of pottery have been discovered to date.

The silver (*dirhem*) and bronze coins (*pul*) dating back to the reigns of the khans Uzbek, Janibek, and Novruz are to be considered as the most important finds in the necropolis and in the Turkish bath (fig. 3). They were minted in many centres of the Golden Horde, including Torgovytsa, and therefore it can be said with certainty that the historical remains in question date back to the mid 14th century.⁸ L. Litvinova, who was in charge of the anthropological analysis of the items discovered in the necropolis, believes that the population of the former settlement was autochthonous, but also had a considerable number of Mongolian characteristics.⁹

The described archaeological find in Torgovytsa is of great interest and needs to be further investigated. Torgovytsa is the biggest town in the north belonging to the urban culture of the Golden Horde. The dating of the coins corroborates the existence of a town already in the early 14th century. The examination of the historical monuments dating back to the time of the Golden Horde in the territory on the right-hand side of the river Dnepr will lay the foundations for further investigations regarding the influence of the East on the socioeconomic development of the population in the 13th/14th centuries and beyond.

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- 6 Byrnya, P. P., Ryaboi, T. F.: Monumental'naya arkhitektura zolotoordynskogo goroda XIV v. Shekhr al-Dzhedid. In: *Rossiiskaya arkheologiya*, 1997, No. 2; Sovzhenok, V. I.: Tatars'ke misto na nizhn'omu Dnipro chasiv pizn'oho seredn'ovichchya. In: *Arkheolohichni pamyatki*, vol. X. Kyiv, 1961, pp. 175–193.
- 7 Khovanskaya, O. S.: Goncharnoe delo goroda Bolgara. In: *Materialy i issledovaniya po arkheologii SSSR*, vol. 42, Moskva, 1954; Mikhal'chenko, S. É.: Sferokonusy Povolzh'ya. In: *Kratkie soobshcheniya Instituta arkheologii*, vol. 140, Moskva, 1974.
- 8 Kozubovskii, Georgii: Sin'ovodska bitva 1362 r. i zmini u groshovomu obihu Pivdennoi Rusi-Ukraiini. In: *Central'na Ukraina za dobi klasichnoho seredn'ovichchya: studii z istorii XIV str.*, Kyiv, 2003, pp. 95–97.
- 9 Litvinova, Lyudmila: Antropolohichnii sklad naselennya Central'noyi Ukraini dobi seredn'ovichchya (za materialami gruntovoho mohil'nika Torhovitsya). In: *Central'na Ukraina za dobi klasichnoho seredn'ovichchya: studii z istorii XIV str.* Kyiv, 2003, pp. 85–94.

The Inventory Project of Turkish Monuments in the Ukraine and Examples from the Crimea

Bozkurt Ersoy

A society's heritage, from national monuments, museums, and art galleries to a people's language, history, and religion, is an essential source of meaning and fulfillment for the people living now. Among the treasures of the past the cultural monuments, archives, and historical sites are especially unprotected places. As cultural heritage, these places, especially in multi-cultural environments, are often exposed to ruin. Starting from this point of view, we carried out a project entitled *The Inventory of Turkish Monuments in the Ukraine* sponsored by the Turkish Historical Society from 1999 to 2001. Here I should thank Svitlana Bilyayeva from the Academy of Sciences of the Ukraine, İnci Kuyulu Ersoy, and Rüstem Bozer who participated in this project from beginning to end, and especially Oleksa Haiworonski and Aliye Ibragimova and all those scholars who helped us wherever we went.

During the three years we carried out this project, we visited 43 settlements in total, eight of them in the Ukraine and 35 in the Crimea.¹ We established an inventory of 105 monuments including 15 fortresses, one *tekke*, 41 mosques, two *khan*, six baths (*hamam*), 26 fountains, eleven *türbe*, one palace, and two *madrasa*. Some of these buildings are in ruins, while others in some way still exist in their original form. All monuments were documented by photograph and video films. After taking their measurements, exact plans were also drawn.

The aim of this paper is to give some basic information about the monuments in the Crimea by presenting some examples. Calling attention to these monuments, which urgently need preservation, could promote the idea of cultural diversity.²

The first monument I want to present is Yeni Kale in Kerch. This fortress was strategically important to the Ottomans and at the same time also a vital trade centre. According to Evliya Çelebi, there were 200 houses with earth roofs, a mosque, a

1 Regarding the monuments in Ukraine and Crimea, see I. A. Ignatki (red.), I. M. Kravets, E. I. Lopushinskaya. *Pamyatniki gradostroitelstva i arkhitektury Ukrainskoi SSR*, tom 1–2, Kiev 1985.

2 For general information, see O. I. Dombrovskii. *Krym. Arkhitekturnye pamyatniki*, Simferopol' 1977; A. L. Yakobson. *Srednevekovi Krym. Ocherki istorii i istorii material'noi kul'tury*, Moskva/Leningrad 1964; B. N. Zasyrkin. *Pamyatniki arkhitektury krymskikh tatar*. In: *Krym*. No. 2 (4), 1927, Moskva/Leningrad, pp. 113–168; E. B. Krikun. *Pamyatniki krymskotatarskoi arkhitektury (XIII–XX vv.)*. Simferopol' 1998; I. G. Sushuk. *Musul'manskie mavzolei Kryma: tipy, strukturnye analogii*. In: *Problemy teorii i istorii arkhitektury Ukrainy*, 2. Odessa 2001, pp. 22–31.

hamam, cellars, and a church in the fortress.³ There were three entrance gates. These were the Kerch Gate in the south (fig. 1), the Arbat Gate in the west, and the Azak Gate in the north. While these gates are still standing, the interior of the fortress is in ruins. There is also a single-dome cubic mosque in Kerch, dated to the 18th century. It has a square prayer room but does not have a minaret. This mosque has lost its original form since its interior was divided into two levels by inserting a floor at the bottom line of the cupola.

According to Evliya Çelebi, Kaffa (Kefe), conquered by Gedik Ahmet Pasha in 1475, had an outer fortification with four gates and an inner fortification with five gates. It contained 60 mosques, 50 *masdjid*, 45 primary schools, ten baths, 43 *khan* and 20 fountains.⁴ During our research we found two mosques and the ruins of one *hamam*. One of the mosques was converted into a store. There existed another *hamam* and a mosque, but our team was unable to see them because they were situated in a military area. The only mosque standing today is the one known as the Yeşil Cami (Green Mosque) or Müftü Camii.

This building (dated 1623) has a prayer room covered by a dome and a half-dome. In front of its northern façade we can see a porch with roof fragments. This building was restored including its minaret on the north-eastern corner. The *hamam*, which is surrounded by a wall and is situated in the area of a kindergarten, is a simple example of bath architecture and is in ruins.

As a historical settlement, Sudak was a Genoese stronghold that is still standing although the interior is derelict. One of the buildings within this fortress that has been preserved is the Padishah Bey Mosque (fig. 2). It has a single domed cubic form. Its minaret collapsed in 1926 but the building itself was restored between 1970 and 1973. Today it serves as a museum.⁵ Apart from the mosque, there are the remnants of a *hamam* and a fountain stone.

In the settlements on the southern shores of the Crimea, it is quite likely to come across some monuments. For example, in Partenit, one of the 35 locations visited, a minaret calls attention with its inscription dated 1834 (fig. 3).

The second fortress is that of Arbat⁶ in the north of the Crimea beyond Kerch, which was built in the 17th century according to some publications. It still stands upright with its single entry, cut stonewalls and bastions.⁷ The interior is completely filled with earth, and scholars are expected to start excavations.

3 *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyâhatnâmesi* (Türkçeleştiren: Z. Danişman), vol. 11, İstanbul 1970, pp. 242–243.

4 *Op. cit.*, pp. 238–240. – For the 14–15th centuries, see A. B. Rallev. *Arkhitektura Kaffy*. In: *Problemy teorii i istorii arkhitektury Ukrainy*, 2. Odessa 2001, pp. 16–21; for a plan see A. L. Yakobson. *Srednevekovyi Krym. Ocherki istorii i istorii material'noi kul'tury*. Moskva/Leningrad 1964, p. 113.

5 L. Ponomarova. *Genuezika Fortesiya Sudaki*. In: *Z istorii Ukraïnskoï restavratsii*, Kyïv 1996, pp. 204–214.

6 *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyâhatnâmesi, op. cit.*, p. 244.

7 For the plan of the fortress, see E. B. Krikun. *Pamyatniki krymskotatarskoi arkhitektury (XIII–*

Eski Kırım (Staryi Krym/Solkhat) was the first capital of the Crimean Khanate on the road connecting Kerch with Simferopol'. Since another paper in this volume deals specifically with Eski Kırım, I just want to mention a few monuments.

Evliya Çelebi gives some information about the number of monuments in Karasubazaar.⁸ Today the only surviving monument is Taş Han (fig. 4). It stands in the middle of a park. According to its inscription, it was built in 1065/1655.⁹

The construction date of the fortress of Orkapı (Perekop), which was erected on the narrow, strategically extremely important Isthmus of Perekop that connects the mainland to the Crimea, is 1630–34.¹⁰ The walls, 4,15 metres wide at the bottom and 2 metres at the top, cut stones on the outsides filled with rubble in between, are still visible at the point where they meet the Black Sea.

According to Evliya Çelebi, in Gözleve, which is not too far from here to the northwest of Bahçesaray, there were 24 mosques, five *hamam*, eleven *khan*, three *tekke*, seven fountains and two *madrassa* in this castle of five gates.¹¹ Today, we can see two mosques, two *hamam* and one *tekke* (fig. 5). The mosque, which was built by Sinan the Architect in 1552, was surrounded by shops and warehouses, but all these were removed in 1981. During the restoration in the same year, the minarets were rebuilt. The plan shows all the characteristics of the classical period of Ottoman architecture.¹² In this settlement, the restored *tekke* and the derelict mosque are the two other important buildings.¹³ Here we should also mention the double *hamam*, which is in good condition and could be used again after some restoration.¹⁴ The second *hamam*, inhabited by some people, has also a typical Turkish *hamam* layout. It deserves the attention of researchers and should be restored.

The monuments in Simferopol' (also known as Ak Mescit¹⁵) have lost their originality due to rebuilding or restorations. With its craftsmanship the Cami-i Kebir is one of the important buildings. The inscriptions are dated 1808 and 1908.

The mosque in Pionerskoe (originally named Eski Orda), 18 km from Ak Mescit, is the only monument in this town and has a *türbe* next to its south-eastern corner. The minaret of the mosque, which can be dated to the end of the 14th and beginning

XX vv.). Simferopol' 1998, p. 102.

8 Evliyâ Çelebi *Seyâhatnâmesi*, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

9 B. Ersoy. Kırım Karasu-Bazar'daki Taşhan. In: *Uluslararası Sanat Tarihi Sempozyumu*, (Prof. Dr. Gönül Öney'e Armağan), *Bildiriler*, İzmir 2002, pp. 275–280.

10 E. B. Krikun. *Pamyatniki krymskotatarskoi arkhitektury (XIII–XX vv.)*. Simferopol' 1998, pp. 104–107.

11 *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyâhatnâmesi*, *op. cit.*, pp. 197–200.

12 L. Ponomarova. Mecheti Zhuma-Zhami v Evpatorii. In: *Z istorii Ukraïnskoi restavratsii*, Kyïv 1996, pp. 198–204.

13 L. Tolochko. Tekie Dervishiv u Evpatorii. In: *Z istorii Ukraïnskoi restavratsii*, Kyïv 1996, pp. 58–62.

14 S. V. Pridnev. Turetskie bani v Evpatorii. In: *Arkheologiya Kryma*. 1997, No. 1, pp. 129–136.

15 E. B. Krikun. *Pamyatniki krymskotatarskoi arkhitektury (XIII–XX vv.)*. Simferopol' 1998, pp. 66–80.

of the 15th centuries, has collapsed. Although it is known that there was a cemetery nearby, today there is no trace of it.

The mausoleum (*türbe*) in Aivovoe village or Efendiköy, which is not far to the west of Bahçesaray, has a square foundation plan. It is dated between the 17th and 18th centuries and deserves some attention.

In Çufutkale in the neighbourhood of Bahçesaray, the only building standing today is known as Nenekecan. On its inscription it is called “Henekecan” and in the registration file it is mentioned as “Caneke Hatun Turba”. It is dated 1437 and its stone decoration make it one of the important monuments of the Crimea.

I will not describe any monuments of Bahçesaray¹⁶ because other papers in this volume will deal with this matter.¹⁷ However, I would like to give some information about the city of Bahçesaray, derived from an engraving kept at the Bahçesaray museum (fig. 6). The latter is actually a copy of an engraving dated to the 17th century and distinctly shows the settlement at that time. The two *caravanserai*, one next to the other, to the west of the Khan’s palace are clearly visible.

The largest *caravanserai* that we can see on this engraving may be the grand *caravanserai* in the market area with 177 rooms, built in 1660–61 according to the inscription mentioned by Evliya Çelebi.¹⁸

16 L. Ponomarova. Restavratsii Bakhchesaraiskogo Palasu. In: *Z istorii Ukraïnskoï restavratsii*, Kyïv 1996, pp. 48–57; İ. Kuyulu. Kırım Bahçesaray Yerleşimindeki Hansaray Süslemelerinden Örnekler. In: *VI. Ortaçağ ve Türk Dönemi Kazı Sonuçları ve Araştırmaları Sempozyumu, Kayseri, 8–10 Nisan 2002*, Kayseri 2002, pp. 397–404; W. Barthold. “Bahçesaray”. In: *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 13, İstanbul² 1961, pp. 225–227.

17 See the contribution by Nicole Kaňçal-Ferrari, below, pp. 83 f.

18 Evliya Çelebi. *op. cit.*, pp. 213–214.

Ottoman Cultural Heritage in the Ukraine

İnci Kuyulu Ersoy

Due to their geographical location some coastal settlements on the northern and western shores of the Black Sea became focal points of commercial life after the Ottoman conquest. Apart from fortresses such as Azak (Azov), Orkapı (Perekop), and Özi (Ochakiv) on the northern shore of the Black Sea, the Ottomans also carried out intensive building programs in other strategic settlements along the Black Sea coast between the Danube and the Dnister. We can find traces of these building activities in the form of the remains of the fortresses of Hotin, Kamanıçe, Kilia, Ismail, Özi, and Akkerman. Most Ottoman fortresses have disappeared because of neglect or as a consequence of politics. This explains why most of our knowledge about these monuments nowadays comes from historical sources and excavations.

In this paper¹ I shall introduce a number of Ottoman architectural works in these strategically important Ottoman centres along the Black Sea coast. In addition, I shall discuss some tombstones from museums in the Ukraine.²

The castle of Ismail on the Danube in the region of Bujak was conquered in 1484 during the reign of Sultan Bayezid II.³ Between 1770 and 1812 both the Ottomans and the Russians briefly controlled the city. However, with the Treaty of Bucharest in 1812, the Russians gained full control of the city. Evliya Çelebi mentions in his famous *Seyahat-name* that the Ottoman name of the city originates from its conqueror's name, Captain Ismail.⁴ An Ottoman map showing the *türbe* and *tekke* of a certain Ismail Baba seems to confirm the information Evliya gives. Evliya also states that there were three Muslim districts with mosques and *khan* in the city.⁵ The castle, however, was later destroyed. In 1790, shortly after the Russian conquest, plans of

1 *The Inventory of Turkish Monuments in the Ukraine (including Crimea)* is a sub-project of a greater project called *The Inventory of Turkish Monuments outside Turkey* conducted by The Turkish Historical Society under the direction of Yusuf Halaçoğlu. This paper contains part of the results of the work carried out between 1999–2001 by Bozkurt Ersoy as the head of the sub-project and with the participation of Svitlana Bilyayeva (Kiev). I hereby would like to thank Yusuf Halaçoğlu and Bozkurt Ersoy for letting me work on this subject and also Svitlana Bilyayeva for her help.

2 For a map of the region, see D. E. Pitcher (Transl. B. Tırnakçı), *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Tarihsel Coğrafyası*, İstanbul, 1999, map 29–30.

3 For Ismail, see A. Decei, "İsmail", *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 5, İstanbul 1950, pp. 1108–1110.

4 *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyâhatnâmesi* (Türkçeleştiren: Z. Danışman), vol. 7, İstanbul 1970, pp. 281–282.

5 I would like to thank Bilge Cankorel, Turkish Ambassador to the Ukraine in Kiev, for showing this map to me. For this map see İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, IV /I, Ankara 1988, fig. 8.

the castle of Ismail were drawn. These plans enable us to gather valuable information about the Ottoman buildings of the city.⁶ The plans show graveyards, mosques, baths, military buildings, and four entrance gates named after the cities of Tsaregrad (Shergored) or Brossa (Bruška)⁷, Hotin, Bender, and Kilia. It is known from an inscription dated 1794–95 in the Archaeological Museum of Odessa that Sultan Selim III (1789–1807) rebuilt the castle of Ismail.⁸ Unfortunately I have not been able to find this inscription in the museum. According to recent research there were four graveyards, one *khan*, and eight mosques in the city.⁹ The only surviving building is the so-called Small Mosque.

The Small Mosque is located near the Danube and its northern façade faces the river (fig. 1). In the Russian period, the mosque lost its original function and was first converted into a church in 1810 and later – after restoration – into a museum (1971–73).¹⁰ The Small Mosque consists of a domed square prayer room and a three-bay porch on the north side. The thick walls of the building are constructed of finely cut stone and the upper structure is covered with lead. The façades show two rows of windows. There are also four windows with semi-circled arches on the dome drum. There once was a door on the north corner of the eastern façade. This entrance is nowadays closed. Four marble columns with classical Ottoman capitals support the three-bayed porch in front of the north (main) façade and the arch openings. The porch is nowadays closed with windows. The prayer room has a square plan and is surmounted by a dome. As mentioned before, the Small Mosque was converted into a museum and some exhibition panels are placed in front of the walls. As a consequence, parts of the prayer room cannot be seen clearly. From what is visible, it can be understood that pointed-arched squinches are used for the transition from the square base to the dome. There are traces of Arabic calligraphy and frescos on the surface of the squinches. The simple *mihrab*, behind the panels, is entirely built of cut stone and framed by a decorative band on both sides (fig. 2). There are seven rows of stalactites in the niche. A stalactite niche crowns the *mihrab*. There is a rosette on each corner. Today, the Small Mosque has no minaret. However, from old photographs, gravures, and a panoramic view of the city made in 1790, it can be understood that the western façade of the Small Mosque originally had a minaret.¹¹

6 For the plans of Ismail drawn during the Russian occupation in 1790, see *Generalissimus Suvorov. Sbornik dokumentov i materialov*, Leningrad 1947, p. 184; *Fotoalbom o gorode voennoi doblesti, krupnom sovremennom porte, promyshlennom u kul'turnom centre na yugo-zapade Ukrainskoi SSR Izmail*, Kiev 1976, plan 26.

7 For the different names of the south-east entrance, see *Generalissimus Suvorov, Sbornik...*, p. 184, for the Tsaregrad Gate see Aleksandr Vasilevich Suvorov, *V otechestvennom izobrazitel'nom iskusstve*, Moskva 1952, p. 40, and *Fotoalbom o Gorode...*, plan 26, for the Brossa (Bruška) Gate.

8 A. Decei, *op. cit.*, p. 1109.

9 Recent research projects have been carried out by the *Centre for the Preservation of Monuments* in Ismail, and many old and new maps can be found in its archive.

10 *Pamyatniki gradostroitel'stva i arkhitektury Ukrainskoi SSR*, vol. 1, Kiev 1984, p. 268.

11 See the panoramic view of the city dated December 11, 1790, and some gravures at the

The mosque has no building inscription that can be used for dating. But if we take into consideration certain features of the mosque such as the building material, the columns, the capitals of the columns, and the squinches, a 16th century construction date is very likely. This is in line with the fact that Ismail had become an important Ottoman settlement in the 16th century.¹²

Besides the Small Mosque, only five tombstones – two complete ones and three broken ones – can be found in Ismail. Their dates range from 1131/1718–19 to 1170/1756–57. The stones themselves are exhibited in the Alexander Suvorov Museum for Military History in Ismail.

Another important centre on the Danube was Kilia (Chilia, Kili). Kilia was conquered in 1484 by Sultan Bayezid II.¹³ Between 1770 and 1812, both Ottomans and Russians briefly controlled the city and then it passed under Russian rule in 1812 with the Treaty of Bucharest.¹⁴ Nowadays, all that remains of a once important Ottoman past, is a fragment of a broken tombstone dated 1131/1718–19, which is exhibited in the Kilia Museum.¹⁵

The fortress of Akkerman (Bilhorod-Dnistrovs'kyi/Belgorod Dnestrovskii), which the Ottomans attempted to take in 1419, 1454, and 1474, was finally conquered by Bayezid II in 1484.¹⁶ Between 1770 and 1812, both Ottomans and Russians controlled the city for short periods of time. After the Treaty of Bucharest in 1812, it passed under Russian rule. Evliya Çelebi mentions the Mosque of Sultan Bayezid (with a single minaret) in the fortress of Akkerman and a small bath in the lower fortress.¹⁷ He also mentions the Sultan Bayezid Mosque, the Sultan Selim Khan Mosque and Madrasa, the Hamam of Sultan Bayezid-i Veli, and 17 primary schools in the city of Akkerman itself.¹⁸ Unfortunately, all Ottoman buildings in the town were demolished. However, the buildings in the fortress are still standing today, albeit partially: the minaret of the Sultan Bayezid Mosque still stands while the mosque itself is completely gone.¹⁹ The cylindrical brick shaft of the minaret rises above a square basement. The square basement and part of the transition section of the minaret are built of stone (one row) and brick (two rows) alternately.

Alexander Suvorov Museum for Military History in Ismail.

12 For the importance of Ismail in the 16th century, see A. Decei, *op. cit.*, p. 1108.

13 For Kilia, see İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, II, Ankara 1984, p. 182; N. Beldiceanu, *La conquête des cités marchandes de Kilia et de Cetatea Albă par Bayezid II*. In: *Südost-Forschungen*, vol. XXIII (1964), pp. 36–90.

14 İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, IV/I, Ankara 1988, pp. 389, 424, 591–592.

15 In addition to this fragment of a broken tombstone three photographs of tombstones are found at the same museum as well. One of them is dated 1174/1760–61.

16 For Akkerman, see B. Darkot, "Akkerman", *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 1, p. 251. For Akkerman and Chilia, see Beldiceanu, *op. cit.*, pp. 36–90.

17 *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyâhatnâmesi* (Türkçeleştiren: Z. Danışman), 7, İstanbul 1970, p. 285.

18 *Op. cit.*, p. 287.

19 For the plan of the minaret, see M. Şlapac, *Cetatea Albă Studiu de arhitectură militară medievală*, Chişinău 1998, p. 88.

Only a small portion of the *hamam* mentioned by Evliya Çelebi has survived. An excavation has started in 1999 to unearth the monument.²⁰

Some remnants of Ottoman buildings can also be found in Odessa. One of them is the fortress of Hacıbey. Despite the fact that its original form has changed considerably, some original Ottoman vaults can still be seen. Apart from this building, nine tombstones are found at the Archaeological Museum in Odessa (fig. 3). Their dates range from 1131/1718–19 to 1240/1824–25. Two inscriptions are found at the same museum as well. One of them is a fountain inscription of a certain Osman Pasha, dated 1229/1814. The second is a restoration inscription by an individual named Hacı Abdi Ağa. Because it is broken, its date and the building it originally belonged to can no longer be identified. There is a third inscription, which due to its huge dimensions may have belonged to a fortress. However, since it is also broken, I have not been able to get any meaningful information from this inscription.

Özi (Ochakiv) passed into Ottoman hands after 1475 and remained so until 1788.²¹ We learn from Evliya Çelebi that Özi castle consisted of three parts: the Upper, Middle, and Lower Fortress. In addition, Evliya Çelebi mentions the existence of another fortress called Küçük Hasan Pasha on the banks of the river.²² Although Evliya also describes mosques, a palace (of the *bey*), and a *hamam*, nowadays no traces of these Ottoman buildings remain.²³

For a short period in the 17th century, the Ottomans also ruled Podolia. Important Ottoman centres were Kamañçe, Hotin, Mecibaş, and Himelnik. In the years 1672–1699²⁴, Kamañçe (Kamyianets' Podil'skii) housed the garrison of the Beylerbey of the province of Podolia.²⁵ It is known that the castle of Kamyianets' Podil'skii was destroyed during the conquest, but Sultan Mehmed IV restored the fortress shortly,²⁶ and some traces of this restoration such as a Bursa arch can still be seen.

During the short period of Ottoman rule, the cathedral of Kamañçe (St. Peter and Paul's) was converted into a mosque and a minaret was built in front of the western façade. This 36,5 metres high stone minaret is located at the northern side of the façade, and the entrance is situated in the interior of the cathedral (fig. 4). The

20 For this *hamam* and its excavation, see fig. 9 of the article by Bilyayeva/ Ersoy in the present volume.

21 For detailed information about Özi and its excavations, see B. Ersoy, and S. Beliaeva, *Özi Kalesi (Ukrayna-Ochakiv) Arkeolojik Çalışmaları*. In: *Uluslararası Dördüncü Türk Kültürü Kongresi Bildirileri (Ankara, 4–7 Kasım 1997)*, Ankara 1999, pp. 263–268; S. Beliaeva, *Ochakiv'deki Türk Şehrinde Arkeolojik Araştırmalar*. In: *op. cit.*, pp. 109–114.

22 *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyâhatnâmesi* (Türkçeleştiren: Z. Danişman), vol. 8, İstanbul 1970, p. 36–38.

23 See B. Ersoy and S. Beliaeva, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

24 For Kamañçe, see A. Decei, "Kamañçe", *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 6, İstanbul 1967, pp. 145–146; D. Kolodziejczyk, "Hotin", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 18, İstanbul 1998, pp. 253–254.

25 See D. Kolodziejczyk, *The Defter-i Mufassal of Kamañçe from ca. 1681 – an Example of Late Ottoman Tahrir. Reliability, Function, Principles of Publication*. In: *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, vol. XIII, 1993, p. 94.

26 A. Decei, "Kamañçe", p. 145.

cylindrical shaft rises above a square basement. After the Treaty of Karlovit in 1699, Kamyanets' and all of Podolia were returned to Poland, and the Cathedral of St. Peter and Paul's was restored to its original function. The Ottoman minaret was crowned with a statue of the Virgin Mary as a symbol of the Catholic victory over the Muslim Ottomans.²⁷

Another Ottoman architectural element, a *mimbar* (pulpit), can still be seen in the Cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul's (fig. 5). According to local inhabitants, this *mimbar* was brought from another mosque in Kamaņiçe. The 3,78 metre wide and 3,90 metre high marble *mimbar* is situated at the northeast corner of the cathedral close to the entrance of the minaret. It shows the general characteristics of Ottoman marble *mimbar* of the classical period. Yet, it is not a work of high quality and its decoration is rather simple, typical of provincial *mimbar*. The simple decoration is arranged symmetrically on each side. The balustrades and the kiosk section are decorated with geometric motifs in the *à jour* (open latticework) technique. The same geometric design can also be seen on the minaret's entrance door.

Another important Ottoman monument in Podolia is the castle of Hotin (Khotin) situated near the coast and the Dnister River. The castle of Hotin was first erected by the Genoese and then enlarged by the Moldavians in the 13th and 14th centuries. It is known that in 1476 Sultan Mehmed (1451–1481) unsuccessfully tried to conquer this castle that belonged to the Moldavian Voivodes.²⁸ In 1621, young Sultan Osman II besieged the castle during his Polish campaign, but in the end it remained in the hands of the Moldavian Voivodes. The castle was finally taken from the Moldavians in 1711, and it switched hands between the Russians and the Ottomans until it was given to Russia in the Treaty of Bucharest in 1812.

The first information about Hotin that concerns our topic comes from Evliya Çelebi who visited Hotin with Melek Ahmed Paşa, the commander of the Ottoman army in 1657.²⁹ Evliya Çelebi describes the castle as a small stone building with a wide ditch and two gates, 80 towers covered with wood, 60–70 houses, and 50 shops. After the Ottoman conquest, Hotin was first an ordinary town but later became the capital of an Ottoman *sancak*. It was restored and enlarged under the supervision of a French and Ottoman technical committee, which was sent from Istanbul after the Russians sacked the city in 1713.³⁰ The new castle and city-walls surrounding the small medieval fortress had three gates called the Istanbul Gate (Yaş), the Temeşvar Gate, and the Bender or Ukraine Gate. There is a fourth gate called the Water Gate since it faces the Dnister River. In this period, two *hamam*,

27 An oil-painting tableau showing the minaret with the statue of the Virgin Mary is found at the Cracow National Museum in Poland. For the tableau, see *War and Peace. Ottoman-Polish Relations in the 15th–19th centuries*, İstanbul 1999, p. 448.

28 For Hotin, see A. Decei, "Hotin", *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 5 (İstanbul 1964), pp. 567–571; D. Kolodziejczyk, "Hotin", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 18, İstanbul 1998, pp. 253–254.

29 *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyâhatnâmesi*, 7, p. 299.

30 D. Kolodziejczyk, "Hotin", p. 254.

two big mosques, and one *bedesten* (market) were built in the castle. Nowadays all that remains is covered with soil. Remnants of only two buildings have come down to us: part of a minaret and a rectangular structure next to the castle walls near the Water Gate.

The latter has thick stonewalls and is covered with a barrel vault (fig. 6). The north and west façades of the building have simple round-arched entrances. The lower part of the north entrance is decorated with a flag and a horseshoe motive. These motifs indicate that this building may once have been the station of the guards of the Water Gate. A third entrance is found on the west side of the north wall of the interior, which is connected to the narrow walking path at the upper part of the castle wall.

The minaret mentioned above nowadays consists of no more than a basement. No traces of the mosque which once must have stood there remain. However, remnants of the mosque may still be buried underground.

Although most Ottoman monuments I have discussed have not come down to us because of both natural and political reasons, their remains can still shed light on the Ottoman presence in the northern Black Sea region and the way the Ottomans used architecture to build up and maintain their power base (fortresses etc.). Many of these monuments – mainly mosques – were inspired by examples in the capital of the Ottoman Empire, Istanbul, and as such also functioned as a means of representation of Ottoman rule in the Black Sea region.

Crimea

Monumental Stone Carvings of the Crimea, 14th–18th Centuries

Elena Aibabina

Islamic art in the Crimea is connected with peoples of Turkish origin and, in all probability, its earliest examples can be attributed to the Seljuk penetration of the peninsula. The well-known historical facts of the appearance of the Seljuks in the Crimea can be linked to the territory of its south-eastern part – the city of Sudak and its neighbourhood, Staryi Krym (Solkhat). It is known from the sources that in 1265, the Rum Seljuk Sultan Izz ad-Din Keykavus II was given Solkhat and Sudak by Berke Khan as *iqta*.¹ Also, the earlier assault by Husam ad-Din Choban Bey on Sudak resulted in the capture of the city by the Seljuks (1225).² A mosque was built in its citadel. Probably after the campaign of Choban Bey in the Crimea, a group of people remained, whose descendants preserved the peculiarities of their Anatolian Turkish culture.³

Solkhat-Krym with a Turkish component in its population became an administrative centre of the Golden Horde in the Crimea.⁴ In 1263, a district mosque was built by “a man from Bukhara”, the foundation of which coincided with the Sultan of Egypt’s first embassy moving to the Khan of the Golden Horde through the Crimea.⁵ The distinctive style of Asia Minor, *e.g.*, in stone decoration, spread with the settling of the Turkish population and with the Islamization of the region, especially in the south-eastern part of the Crimea.

The appearance of the first architectural ensembles and decorative stone carving was obviously connected with the direct participation of skilled workmen from Asia Minor and, probably, Central Asia. Methods and techniques were introduced that, presumably, coincided with the perceptions of the population of the Golden Horde and its cultural traditions, visible in forms of related artistic style. The construction of new centres by the Golden Horde in the second part of the 13th century relied heavily on materials and human resources from territories captured earlier, with a high artistic and handicraft culture. Khorezm, the Caucasus area, the Crimea, and the Volga area found themselves within the borders of one state. This promoted the

1 Tizengauzen 1941, p. 26; Smirnov 1887, pp. 21–27. V. D. Smirnov supports the opinion that Mengu-Temir, and not Berke Khan, welcomed Izz ad-Din Keykavus to the apanage principality of Solkhat and Sudak.

2 Smirnov 1887, p. 9–11; Gordlevsky 1941, p. 31.

3 Gordlevsky 1941, p. 46.

4 Kramarovskii 1989, p. 153.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 148.

development of Muslim culture in the cities, characterized by a blend of different methods and traditions and also the development of a new style in various artistic handicrafts.⁶

An important role in the appearance of new elements in the material culture of the peninsula was played undoubtedly by the inclusion of the Black Sea region in the Venetian and Genoese trade empires, which connected commercial centres from the western part of the Mediterranean to the Sea of Azov and further east. Stable and long-lasting relationships, primarily in trade, existed between the centres of the northern and southern parts of the Black Sea during the Middle Ages.⁷ Soldaya (Sudak) took part in the transit trade of the commercial cities in the southern part of the Black Sea region in the 14th century.⁸ The Black Sea region was perceived by the merchants as a united geographical area. The caravan routes to Persia through Tabriz were used by Venetian and Genoese merchants until the middle of the 14th century.⁹ Another commercial route through Samsun to Kaffa (Feodosia) came from Egypt and Syria.¹⁰ In spite of the fact that research on the categories of the Levant trade extracted only few cases of the trade in artistic handicraft objects,¹¹ the import of such goods from Western Europe and Asia Minor did take place. Among the artistic goods in metal and ceramics which originated in the Crimea and other places of the northern Black Sea region were found groups of objects, made and decorated in the European fashion with motifs from Eastern Asia Minor.¹² Such influences are also visible in the decorative stone carvings of Genoese buildings. This allows us to conclude that the commercial cities of the Black Sea region participated in the complex process of the cultural interaction in this region. Important in this process was the fact that artisans moved into the region, some of them invited by patrons of the arts,¹³ and that different objects of artistic handicrafts, textiles, and manuscript books were imported.

The inclusion of the Crimea in the Italian political sphere of influence and trade in the Black Sea region promoted the establishment of artistic ideas from Asia Minor, a region with its own tradition in architectural decoration. This led to considerable changes in the material culture of the Crimea. The growth of the cities demanded the development of architecture and artisanship, and consequently, stone and wood carving obtained a particular significance.

The style of Seljuk architectural sculpture developed on the basis of a general canon in the decorative arts within the larger region – Asia Minor, the Transcaucasus area, Iran, and Central Asia, of which the Transcaucasus and Armenia were the most

6 Fedorov-Davydov 1976, p. 114; 1981, pp. 230–231.

7 Karpov 1990, pp. 60, 74–76, 81–82, 110, 119.

8 *Ibid.*, pp. 110–119.

9 *Ibid.*, pp. 96–97.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 294.

11 *Ibid.*, pp. 125–126.

12 Kramarovskii 1985, pp. 161, 163.

13 Kramarovskii 1999, p. 247, pp. 135–137; Zalesskaya 1995, p. 100; Malm 1980, pp. 1–26.

influential.¹⁴ Orbeli sees here a trend in art inherent in a great number of monuments, and he connects its emergence with the prosperity of city culture in the region in the 12th to 13th centuries up to the Mongolian conquest and with a decreasing role of the Seljuks. This culture was not restricted by religious and ethnic borders. According to Orbeli, the sources of motifs in Seljuk stone carving go back to the culture of Sassanid Iran, which influenced the decorative art of the Transcaucasus area, *e.g.*, in stone sculpture and metal ware. Later on, Ottoman Turkish art took its inspiration from Seljuk and Byzantine art.¹⁵

Kramarovskii underlines the importance of the Crimea as the centre of spreading Byzantine (Asia Minor) influence on the handicrafts, ceramics, monumental painting, stone carving, and metal work of the Golden Horde. He points out that a continuous tradition of local handicraft existed in the medieval Crimea and during the period of the Golden Horde.¹⁶

The architectural décor of the Islamic constructions in Sudak and Solkhat is relatively well preserved and the artefacts brought to light during the archaeological excavations in Sudak and Saryi Krym give us a clear idea of the style of the period as well. In 1925–26 an archaeological expedition led by Professor I. N. Borozdin, member of the Presidium of the Scientific Association of Oriental Studies of the USSR, initiated the study of architecture and ornamentation of Islamic constructions in the Crimea¹⁷ and Islamic architectural and epigraphic monuments.¹⁸ In 1924, Borozdin headed the archaeological inspection of the monuments in and around Eski-Yurt near Bakhchisarai.¹⁹ The classification of gravestones and funeral constructions found in the Kyrk-Azizler necropolis (Aziz, Bakhchisarai, second half of the 14th to 15th centuries) laid the foundation to studies of medieval gravestones in the Crimea.²⁰ The similarity of their ornamental motifs with the carvings of Seljuk constructions in Konya and Samarkand and Christian constructions in Georgia and Armenia was established. It became clear that the Golden Horde constructions of Solkhat were created on the basis of the interaction of the artistic and handicraft cultures of Seljuk Asia Minor and Mamluk Egypt, primarily under the influence of the cultural traditions of Khorezm, and to a lesser extent of Byzantium and the Italian cities of the Black Sea region.²¹

During the second half of the 20th century a new effort was made to study the remains of the Golden Horde period of Solkhat. In 1978 began the archaeological expedition of the Hermitage, Leningrad, in Saryi Krym under M. G. Kramarovskii.

14 I. A. Orbeli 1961; A. L. Yakobson 1964.

15 Orbeli 1963, p. 367.

16 Kramarovskii 1994, p. 136.

17 Bashkirov 1925, pp. 256–27; Borozdin 1926; Borozdin 1927, pp. 1–21.

18 Bashkirov 1926, pp. 108–125; Zasytkin 1927, pp. 134–139; Borozdin 1927, pp. 24–26; Akchokrakly 1927, pp. 16–19; Bodaninskii 1927, pp. 195–201.

19 Bashkirov/ Bodaninskii 1925, pp. 295–311.

20 Zasytkin 1927, pp. 115–116, 132, 134–139.

21 Borozdin 1926, p. 31.

In the 1980s and 1990s, the expedition of the Hermitage carried out the excavation of the main architectural objects, and the cultural layer of the city territory was investigated. The excavations in Solkhat and its neighbourhood re-established the lost architectural ensemble of the city's buildings. They also unearthed rich material, which permits the reconstruction of the historical and cultural processes in the region.²²

The research carried out in Solkhat, Eastern Crimea, an important location for the international trade from the second part of the 13th to the beginning of the 15th century, allowed researchers to formulate a set of general historical and cultural problems connected with the role of this city as the central contact zone between the West and the steppes of Eastern Europe²³: for example, which were the historical building phases in the city and what role played the religious communities (Muslim, Christian and Judaic) in the formation of the city structure? The archaeological finds confirmed the date of the construction of the Indji-bek Khatun *medrese* as mentioned by Evliyā Çelebi: 1332–1333.²⁴ The building stages and the construction date of the mosque of Uzbek Khan (end of the 15th century) were determined, and the fact that the entrance gate of this mosque was used for a second time in the existing building was confirmed (fig. 1, 2). The construction of a mausoleum located near the mosque was dated back to the end of the 15th or beginning of the 16th century,²⁵ the date of the Muslim cemetery near the mausoleum with burials of the 15th–18th centuries was also determined. Its tombstones are of great interest to the study of the Seljuk decorative style. Examples of stone carvings found during the archaeological excavations offer a number of analogies with elements found on monuments of Asia Minor, e.g., the *mihrab* and the portal of the mosque of Uzbek Khan belong to the Anatolian type, and analogies can be found in the decorative carvings of the northern part of central Anatolia.²⁶ The layout of the *medrese* complex (destroyed at the beginning of the 15th century) and the construction methods of the foundations of the portal pylons resemble those used in Asia Minor, e.g., the *medrese* in Sivas of the 1370s.²⁷ Kramarovskii is convinced that the *medrese* was built in the first half of the 14th century by Anatolian construction experts working in Solkhat. According to this researcher's view, a new decorative tradition was first created in Amasya.²⁸ It is necessary to add that, by all appearances, a number of gravestones were created by Anatolian workmen in Solkhat. Obviously we can speak of the activities of Asia Minor workmen in the region of Solkhat-Sudak, and probably beyond, in Otuzy, in the neighbourhood of Sudak, and in Kaffa.

22 Kramarovskii 1987, pp. 131–132; 1989, pp. 124–127.

23 Kramarovskii 1992, pp. 38–42; 1997, pp. 101–106.

24 Kramarovskii 1989, p. 148.

25 Kramarovskii 1990, p. 125.

26 Kramarovskii 1990, p. 125.

27 *Ibid.*, p. 126.

28 *Ibid.*, p. 127.

If we take into consideration that a number of monuments in the southeast of the Crimea are decorated in Seljuk style (e.g., the portal of the Surb-Khach monastery near the city of Saryi Krym-Solkhat with its "Seljuk chain" and capitals with palmetto décor, the *mihrab* frame of the Sudak Mosque, the platband of the Armenian John the Precursor Church in Kaffa), we may also assume that a local tradition of stone carving emerged. The comparison of carvings of Crimean origin with examples from Asia Minor points to the fact that they have undergone qualitative changes, but preserved some forms.

Thus, the mosque (built in 1314) and *medrese* in Solkhat are the earliest dated Islamic monuments in the south-eastern part of the peninsula. According to Ibn Battuta, there was already a mosque in neighbouring Kaffa in 1332.²⁹ Unfortunately, we know no details of it. The question of the Muslim population in Kaffa in the 14th and 15th centuries was examined by a number of researchers. The names of the city quarters, the centres of which constituted the respective religious buildings of the various confessions, indicate the multiethnic composition of the city; in particular, the Arab part of the city is known as the Tujjar al-Khass quarter.³⁰ Genoese notarial documents and travel accounts attest to the presence of Muslims in the city and to that of subjects of the Tatar khan (cf. an appeal of Tatar dignitaries to the government of Venice concerning the compensation of damages incurred by Tatar merchants in 1356 and 1358). Many Tatars, called "Saracens" in European texts, lived in Kaffa. The fact that they were Muslims is known from the public oral announcement of communal decrees which the magistrates communicated orally in "Tatar" (*in lingua tartarica*); all office work *in curia* was executed in Arabic script (*littera saracena*).³¹ The status of the Tatar khan's subjects in Kaffa was fixed by special decrees in the "Statuto di Kaffa"³², which regulated the possessions of the Genoese in the Black Sea region and which had been published in Genoa in 1449.³³ There were connections between the various segments of the population not only in the sphere of economics and politics, but also in handicraft and artistic culture.

The "Seljuk chain" motif or the geometrical hurdle, ornaments in the form of two-part and three-part palmettos, and stalactites found in Crimean decorative sculpture, lead us to Seljuk analogies.

Generally, the "Seljuk chain" motif in monuments on the Crimean peninsula was used in the decoration of portals, window lintels, and gravestones. Its popularity in Crimean (but not only Crimean) stone carving is not accidental: it is an ornamental motif of a linear character. The "Seljuk chain" visually increased dimensions and introduced the geometric element in contrast to floral ornaments. Made of large-scale details, it made portals look more monumental. The "Seljuk chain" was

29 Tizengauzen 1884, p. 280.

30 Balard 1989, p. 232; Emanov 1995, p. 109.

31 *Ibid.*, p. 113.

32 Statuto di Kaffa, ed. A.Vigna. In: *ASLSP* 1879, V: VII, Parte 2, pp. 567–680.

33 *Ustav dlya gennuezskikh vladanii ...*, 1863, pp. 695, 763.

combined with palmetto ribbons (cf. the lintel of the Armenian church of John the Precursor, the *mihrab* frame of the Sudak Mosque, and a fragment from the village of Uyutnoe) or geometrical ornaments (door platband at Mangup citadel, St. Constantine and St. Elena church in Mangup). The chain was also used without accompanying floral ornament in the decoration of the façade of the Hajji Giray mausoleum (Salachik, near Bakhchisarai), in the synagogue at Kaffa, and in the frame of the niche above the entrance and on the cupola base of the Surb-Khach monastery. The earliest monument where this motif was used is the portal of the Indji-bek Khatun *medrese*, 1332–33.³⁴ In the Armenian St. Ilya monastery in the village of Bogatoe (about 20 km from the Surb-Khach monastery) this motif was also used in the décor of the niche frame above the portal.

The chain was applied to the façade and sides of the projecting portal-*pishtak* of the derelict *medrese* in Solkhat.³⁵ It consists of two strands with complex interlacing along its height. The latest dated building in the Crimea decorated with the “Seljuk chain” is the Hajji Giray *türbe* (fig. 4, 5), built in 1501.³⁶

An examination of variants of the “Seljuk chain” in Crimean architectural monuments allows us to arrive at several hypothetical conclusions about the development of this motif. The combination of the chain in lintels and portals with bands of floral ornament can be seen in the décor of constructions in the south-eastern part of the Crimea. Large reliefs of links in front of the main background and the decoration of the chain surface with rosettes or flat circles are probably of a later date in the Crimea (end of the 14th, first half to the middle of the 15th century).

The floral ornament, at the base of which is a winding stem and which ends with a two-part or three-part leaf resembling a palmetto, represents the most widespread Seljuk floral motif in the Crimea. T. Talbot-Rice attributes the two-part leaf to Seljuk decorative sculpture.³⁷ It first appeared most likely with the first constructions at Solkhat-Krym in the southeast of the Crimea. The earliest dated example is the frame of the *mihrab* and the portal of the Uzbek Khan mosque, 1314 (fig. 1, 2), the portal being used again in the existing building, at the end of the 15th century.³⁸ By the middle of the 14th century this floral ornament had widely spread in Kaffa, Solkhat, and probably in Sudak and its vicinity (fig. 3). Besides the portal of the Indji-bek Khatun *medrese* (1332–33), the Armenian Church of John the Precursor (1348) in Kaffa, and the *mihrab* frame of the Sudak Mosque, also decorated with this ornament is the field of Latin building stones in Kaffa (1342–89)³⁹, stones from the Pasquale Giudice tower (1392), and the Jacobo Torsello tower of the Sudak Fortress⁴⁰. Separate relief palmetto motifs probably decorated the lateral sides of the

34 Kramarovskii 1989, p. 148.

35 Yakobson 1964, plate XXVI, 1.

36 *Ibid.*, p. 141.

37 Talbot-Rice 2004, pp. 173–175.

38 Kramarovskii 1990, pp. 124–125; Kirilko 1991, pp. 32–34.

39 Skrzinska 1928, pp. 32, 56.

40 Yakobson 1964, pl. XXXI; Aibabina 2001, p. 40, fig. 4; Aibabina 2004, p. 183, fig. 1.

portal-*pishtak* of the Indji-bek Khatun *medrese*.⁴¹ A gravestone in Otuzy (ca. 13th–14th centuries) was decorated with the palmetto motif in combination with a geometrical wattle ornament.⁴²

The earliest monument with decorations in the “Seljuk style” might be the mosque in Chufut-kale (1346) near Bakhchisarai. Some researchers pointed out the similarity of the “pseudo-kufic” motif on the Chufut-kale portal with that of the Uzbek Khan mosque in Saryi Krym.⁴³

There is a great affinity in stylistic approach and technical execution between both portals. In both cases a carved line in the form of a wide border frames the aperture. The border is underlined on both sides by narrow strips of non-ornamental, smoothly cut flat facets. The floral ornament is placed horizontally, its “lower” part towards the aperture. The linear elements of the design are carried out with a narrow band that is deeper at the centre. It is cut triangularly which transforms it into an elegant thin double line. The relief elements of the ornaments are executed in a thin cut line on the edge and inside, adding delicateness and lightness to the carving. Analogous architectural décor from Asia Minor dates from the 13th century. In the décor of the portal of the church of John the Precursor, floral motifs and a hurdle (so-called “knot of happiness”) are used. This hurdle motif is traditional for Armenian ornamentation, as in the Kaffa *khachkar* (14th–15th centuries), an Armenian inscription about the construction of a water-supply system, in the Genoese emblem⁴⁴, and in an Armenian miniature.⁴⁵

The palmetto ornament of the church of John the Precursor is identical with the carved decoration of the *mihrab* frame of Sudak Mosque. The attribution and dating of this monument which was subjected to several reconstructions is rather complex. The closest analogies that can be found are mosques in Asia Minor.⁴⁶ The arches on tromps, as used in the construction of this mosque, resemble the cupola mosques on a rectangular or square foundation plan in Asia Minor that date back to prototypes in Iran.⁴⁷ The Kurshum *djami* in Solkhat has such a ceiling.⁴⁸ It was rebuilt from a dervish convent in 1398.⁴⁹ The roof on tromps is also found in the Eski Türbe (Old Mausoleum, 15th century) in Bakhchisarai. Analogies for this building can be found in Central Asia.⁵⁰

41 Proekt remontno-restavratsionnykh rabot “Pamyatnik arkhitektury XIV–XI vekov medrese-mechet’ Uzbeka v g. Saryi Krym. In: *Institut “Ukrproektrestavratsiya”. Krymskii ARKO*, 78-2-10. T. II, kniga 2, istoricheskaya zapiska ch. 2, ris. 4 (historical compilation by V. P. Kirilko).

42 Akchokrakly 1927, pp. 5–11, fig. 5.

43 Bodaninskii/Zasytkin 1929, p. 117; Sidorenko 1988, p. 125, fig. 4; Kramarovskii 1994, p. 135, figs. 11, 8.

44 Aibabina 2001, p. 105, fig. 34.

45 Durnovo 1979, fig. 131.

46 Bert’e-Delagard 1918, p. 20; Zasytkin 1927, pp. 133–139; OPOCHINSKAYA 1986, p. 264.

47 Shuazi 1935, pp. 114–115.

48 Zasytkin 1927, pp. 132–139.

49 Grigorev 1974, p. 27; Kramarovskii 1989, p. 49.

50 Zasytkin 1927, pp. 120–124.

The date of construction of the Sudak Mosque is not certain: either the 13th century or the first half or the middle of the 14th century. It is noticeable that the decoration remained incomplete: the palmetto belts of the square stalactite capitals supporting the arches of the northern entrance hall render an unfinished impression. There is no doubt that the Latin sculpture here is of a later date. The closest analogies for the *mihrab* frame and the capitals of this building belong to the 14th century; one could even say, to the middle of this century. The inspiration for this work was most likely the Solkhat Mosque, which goes back to a Rum Seljuk one. As a hypothesis concerning the date of construction I suggest after 1365, the year when Sudak was seized by the Genoese. They began the construction of fortifications in the early 1370s. There were probably other Genoese constructions as well, *i.e.*, the adaptation of the mosque to Genoese needs. Most likely, the building was planned in Seljuk style and models existed in neighbouring Solkhat. In any event, it cannot be excluded that models from Asia Minor were used.⁵¹

The examination of floral ornaments and the appeal to monuments of different regions of the Crimea aims at a definition of the stylistic peculiarities of the palmetto décor. As pointed out above, the floral décor on the portals of the Uzbek Khan Mosque, the Chufut-kale Mosque and the *medrese* in Saryi Krym unites common stylistic traits: all the details of the ornament are in a thin, precise line, the eyelets of the palmettos and semi-palmettos are encircled with a line that forms a short scroll on the eyelets, sometimes finishing with a small opening. The surfaces of the palmettos and leaves are fan-shaped in profile. The precise drawing, the proportionality of its parts, the confidence and plasticity of the lines make the above mentioned monuments specimens of high skill. Such an artistic approach reflects, most likely, the style of masonry from Asia Minor.

The best examples of Anatolian sculptural art can be seen in constructions of the first half of the 14th century in Solkhat and Chufut-kale. The first place undoubtedly belongs to Solkhat. The earliest “pure” examples of Seljuk style carvings can be studied exactly here and also in neighbouring Soldaya, probably also in Otuzy and Chufut-kale. Despite the fact that the Seljuk style was not alien to Armenian decorative art, the Armenian monuments of the 14th–15th centuries are notable for a more artistic manner and softer plastics. It also developed in its own way: constant links with Armenia and an appeal to the ornamental wealth of miniature painting allowed Crimean Armenian stone carving art to create a great variety of forms and motifs.

Islamic architecture in the Crimea after the 15th century used the main forms and motifs of the Seljuk style in decoration, however, in a somewhat sketchy form, simplifying them. Floral and geometric ornaments filling free flat surfaces of façades and tympanums appear like a carpet in the architectural décor (fig. 5). Such ornaments were applied using different techniques and can also be found on Islamic gravestones.

51 Bert'e-Delagard 1918, p. 22.

As sources tell us and research carried out in the territory of Solkhat-Krym confirms, the main building activity came to an end towards the late 14th century due to the economic crisis of the Golden Horde and the invasion of Timur Lenk. However, there were revivals in the following centuries. Workmen and carvers probably used known artistic means and technical devices in the construction of new buildings during later periods.

The process of building the city and fortress of Kaffa began in 1316 under the direct control of the Genoese authorities.⁵² In the decoration of their constructions they used ornaments and motifs, known not only from constructions in neighbouring Solkhat, but also in Anatolia. As for the cultural interaction between Kaffa and Solkhat in the 14th century, there are many open questions. The presence of people of Latin origin in Solkhat is documented⁵³ by archival materials and by epigraphic monuments.⁵⁴ Genoese constructions were marked with slabs, reliefs, and inscriptions. The appearance of Muslims in Kaffa is demonstrated by the development of boroughs in the north-western part of the external defence line.⁵⁵ The co-existence of the two large neighbouring centres, Solkhat and Kaffa, connected by political and commercial interests, was reflected in the artistic creation and handicraft traditions of both cities.

The study of the décor of architectural details and gravestones from the 17th to 18th centuries gives evidence that the general development tendencies of Ottoman art were reflected in Crimean masonry (fig. 6). The appearance of "Turkish baroque" in the 17th–18th centuries in the form of a semi-stylized and semi-realistic flower décor, and the development of a naturalistic style, as, *e.g.*, in the architectural décor and in ornaments of gravestones from the 18th century, was the reflection of new ideas in art, which spread, mainly, due to official construction activities. The comparison of architectural details and gravestones in Kaffa from the Ottoman period with similar monuments in Bakhchisarai (necropolis of the khans, fountains) allows us to attribute and date them. The similarities lie in their composition and in elements of décor and form. Such motifs as cypresses, flower vases, and naturalistic flowers (tulips, hyacinths, roses, peonies) are identical on gravestones and architectural details in Kaffa and Bakhchisarai. Direct analogies between the Crimean monuments and Turkish ones, particularly from Istanbul, allow us to speak of the large-scale introduction of metropolitan examples of Ottoman art in the Crimea.

52 Balard 1979, p. 201.

53 Kramarovskii 1989, p. 147.

54 Yurjevich 1863, plate 2; Nos. 37, 38, p. 177.

55 Ustav dlya genuezskikh vladonii..., 1863, p. 701; Balard/ Veinstein 1981, p. 89; Bocharov 1998, p. 93, plate 2.

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Solkhat (Crimea) in the 13th and 14th Centuries: People, Culture, and Handicraft Traditions

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Introductory remarks

The present paper is devoted to the description of one of the Golden Horde cities in the Crimea, Solkhat, and this choice has not been accidental: firstly, because this was a new city founded in the Mongol period; secondly, Solkhat was the capital of the Crimea during the reign of the Golden Horde and its right wing for two centuries.

Having chosen the analysis of Solkhat as a subject for research, we should be ready to face the issue of the co-existence of several religious communities in a limited space: Muslim, Christian and Judaic, each not homogenous either ethnically or denominationally. The commonality of their daily life was defined by two factors: by the power of a representative of the Golden Horde's khan, the *baskak*, and by the market, accessible to all citizens. In relationships with the organs of power and the market, the Muslim community always ranked first.

At the same time, each community had its own connections both on the Crimean peninsula as well as outside the region. Among these contacts, some of which had a long history going back to the 10th–11th centuries, seven basic directions can roughly be identified:

- The first and most important direction turns to the Kipchak steppe (Desht-i Kypchak). The main centre of attraction for Solkhat with regard to power and cultural orientation was the city of Saray on the Volga river, the capital of the Golden Horde. In the wide context of international trade, Saray served as important, yet, intermediate link on the way to Urgench and further on to China.
- The second direction pointed from Solkhat to Mamluk Egypt. In this regard Solkhat served as link in the political contacts of the khans of the Golden Horde in Saray with Cairo.
- The third direction leads us to the southern part of the Black Sea and, especially, to Muslim Asia Minor.
- The fourth direction was the traditional one for Tavriya (the Crimea): Byzantium. Of top importance here was the Constantinople of the Paleologues as a hub for the Mediterranean trade, as political partner of the Golden Horde, and

as traditional centre of Greek (Byzantine) orthodoxy.

- The fifth direction is Latin Romania – the main player in the sea trade routes leading to the northern part of the Black Sea.
- The sixth direction along the old “Tatar road” to L’vov connected the Crimea with Southern and Central Europe.
- The seventh direction leads to Moscow, with its “*surozh* (i.e., Crimean) trade”, which gained momentum precisely in the 14th century.

I will not be able to follow each of the above-mentioned directions in my paper, but it is important to list all the vectors and to emphasize the main ones.

In the 13th and 14th centuries, the city of Solkhat developed at the crossroads of the trade route Sudak – Kaffa. The location of the mosques bears witness to this assumption: five mosques were situated in a line along the road from the southwest to the northeast (fig. 1). According to a map from about 1783, by the middle of the 15th century, the total area of the little medieval city took up about 220 hectares. Around 1360, the city of Solkhat was encircled by a ditch. Later, probably in the period of the confrontations between Solkhat and Kaffa (1380–1387), along the line of ditches and ramparts walls with twenty eight towers were erected. Their total length was about 6.200 meters.

The first dated silver coins (*dirham*) of Solkhat go back to 665 AH = 1266/67 AD; dated copper coins (*pul*) were minted since 674 AH = 1275/76 AD. The issue of the copper coins was accompanied by the production of *pul* with the Turkic toponym “Solkhat” (without date of coinage). The first of these coins were discovered by the Hermitage expedition¹. This discovery made it possible to specify the early name of the city, known before only from the Seljuk chronicle of Ibn Bibi (13th century). According to Arabic sources, at the close of the 14th and start of the 15th century, the name “Solkhat” was replaced by a new one, “Crimea” (Kyrym).

At the centre of Islamic Solkhat had been the complex of the *madrassa* and the mosque of Solkhat (erected between the first third of the 14th century and the second half of the 15th century). We have ascertained that the construction of this complex started with the *madrassa* (fig. 2). The basic layout of the *madrassa* is a rectangle, whose sides are about 28 metres (the total square of the *madrassa* is 837 square metres). To enter the closed courtyard paved with stone tiles, one had to walk up the three steps of the monumental staircase leading to the portal. The yard was surrounded by an arcade, from which only the stone foundations of the columns remain. In summer, the lessons of the *talib* (students) took place under the arches of two open *eyvan* – a southern and a northern one (both up to seven meters high), framed with the profile of the “Seljuk chain”. In the evening and during night hours,

1 Altogether we have 28 such coins in our collections. *Pul* with the name of Solkhat were issued not before the end of the 13th and beginning of the 14th century (one of the coins bears the name of Tokty Khan (1290–1312)).

the *eyvan* were illuminated with the help of glass lamps hung on chains (the iron rings of the fastenings have been preserved). The students of the *madrassa* were accommodated in fourteen *hujra* (cells).

The construction of the *madrassa* was made possible by the donation of the wife of a ruler of Solkhata in 1332–33. In 1925, the marble tombstone dated 776 AH (1374/75 AD), of the foundress of the *madrassa*, Indji-bek Khatun, was found at the site. For her burial, one of the premises in the north-western sector of the *madrassa* was reconstructed in the form of a mausoleum (*türbe*). While researching the crypt, cleared of the graves in 1928, we discovered a kind of ring of red carnelian.

At the beginning of the 15th century, probably in the first quarter, the *madrassa* was in decline. A treasure of 608 silver coins, discovered in one of the cells transformed into a guard room at the burial-vault of Indji-bek Khatun, bears witness to this development. The earliest coin of that treasure was minted on behalf of Tokty Khan in "Saray al-Makhrusa" in 710 (1310 AD); the latest one in the name of Muhammad Bulak (with the stamp of the Horde, dated 778 AH = 1376 AD). The portal of the *madrassa* has not survived to our times. We are able to get an idea of its looks from two pictures: a sketch in oil by the Russian artist M. M. Ivanov and a painting in water-colours by the French traveller Jean-Balthasar de la Traverse (both works were made between 1760 and 1780). Architectural details with a flat and a deep three-planed carving support our assumption that the construction team came from Anatolia.

The construction of the mosque was part of the second phase of the building of the complex. In this period at the close of the 15th century, the "old" mosque of 1314 named after Uzbek Khan was transferred to a new place at the northern wall of the *madrassa*. The name of the khan of the Golden Horde and the construction date of the first mosque are known from the inscription on the portal. The mosque with nave and aisles is of the basilica type; the size of the mosque is 13,5 x 17,5 metres. The form of the portal is traditional (4,0 x 6,0 metres) with a triangle niche filled with stalactites (*muqarnas*) made of *ganch* (plaster) elements. The portal is framed by a carved frieze and a couple of semicolumns with two-tier capitals and foundations in the form of lamps (fig. 3: reconstruction of the portal).

The band above the arch of the doorway contains an Arabic inscription dated 714 AH (1314 AD) with the name of Muhammad Uzbek Khan and the builder Abdul-Aziz al-Irbili. The name of Ibrahim al-Irbili, probably the builder of the new Friday Mosque, refers to the land of ancient Irbil (Arbela, Upper Mesopotamia). It is not inconceivable that his younger relative was working in Solkhata, too. A keystone with the name of Mahmud ibn Uthman al-Irbili was found in the course of our investigations of the mausoleum in the layer of debris (15th century). The *mihrab* of the mosque (2,60 x 4,83 metres) repeats the structure of the portal, but is decorated even more richly (fig. 4: reconstruction of the *mihrab*). The epigraphic frieze shows a Qur'anic text. The measurements and the graphical analysis of the portal and the *mihrab* as well as of their ornamental decoration lead us to the sources: the artistic

tradition that developed in the northern part of Central Anatolia during the time of the Seljuk Empire.

An onomasticon of Solkhat indicates that among the inhabitants of the city, common Muslim names like Urus, Bayram, Kutlu, Budjuk, and Lachin were more widespread. Such *nisba* as al-Sivasi, al-Kastamuni, al-Tokati, and al-Kunevi connect a certain segment of the male population of Islamic Solkhat with Asia Minor. In their turn, such *nisba* as al-Ahlati, al-Tabrizi, al-Luri, al-Djandi, and al-Halabi attest to settlers from the Middle East and Iran. The quantity of Turkic names increases in the 15th century.

Since the 14th century, Nestorians, most likely from the Middle East, lived in Solkhat. Traces of their cultural activity have been found. During our research in Solkhat we discovered a gravestone from the 14th century made by a local stonemason, intended probably for a Nestorian man of Syrian origin. This assumption is based on the representation of a cross on one of the facial sides of the gravestone. A lighted lamp – one of the most common motives in Islamic art – is depicted on the opposite face of the gravestone. Both the cross and the lamp are framed by wreaths, which give the compositions a heraldic character. The Arabic inscription² states the following: “Allah will raise the one who is modest with people! The one who leaves knowledge as his inheritance will not die!”³ In 1338, the Gospels were copied in Solkhat. A. M. Piemontese assumes that this work was done under the supervision of Catholic missionaries. The Gospels of Matthew and Mark were copied by Amin al-Din Kutlug Bau, and the Gospels of Luke and John by Ziya al-Din Hadji b. Mawla Na’ib Nur al-Din.⁴ It is assumed that this manuscript came from the library of Francesco Petrarca. There is no doubt that, as stated in the colophone, in 1374 the Nestorian *lectionarium* (*evangeliarium*) was rewritten in Solkhat. The copy of the *lectionarium* of 1374 was made from the manuscript of a Persian translation of the mid-13th century.

The Orthodox community represents the other side of the life of Christians in Solkhat. We know about it only on the basis of archaeological materials. We examined a one-nave basilica built from the middle of the 14th to the beginning of the 15th century. The church (with interior dimensions of 4,55 x 6,74 metres) consists of the main building and a vestibule. The southern wall of the church was furnished with two *arcosolia*⁵ with crypted niches. On the outside, the *arcosolia* are marked by endings in lancet form (fig. 5: reconstruction). The crypts were used as

2 As is known, the Arabic language became part of life in Syria already in the 8th–9th centuries, when the process of interaction between the Syrian and Arabic written cultures started. For more details, see: Meshcherskaya 2000, p. 9.

3 Piotrovsky 1999, pp. 250–251.

4 A. M. Piemontese thinks that the Gospel of John was translated from Latin, and the three other Gospels from the Syriac language (Pritula 2004, p. 26, 27).

5 *Arcosolium* (from Lat. *arcus*, “arch”, and *solium*, “sarcophagus”): an arched recess used as a burial place in a catacomb.

family tombs; in one of them a wing of a cast bronze *encolpion*⁶ of the Kiev type was discovered.

It is worth noting that a large settlement near the south-eastern border of the city was also inhabited by Christians. Here we find one of the suburbs of craftsmen skilled in earthenware production and a necropolis. In 2004, in the course of examining the burial ground, a male burial place of the 14th century, with a wing of a bronzed *encolpion* of the Syrian type dating back to the 12th or 13th century, was discovered. The wing was decorated with the image of the praying Blessed Virgin (*orantha*) and the Greek inscription «θεοτόκος» (Mother of God).

In the 14th century, an Armenian colony of Gregorian confession played an important role in the life of Solkhat. According to records and notes on the margins of Armenian theological books written in Solkhat, the local Armenian community had several parishes in the city and its nearby neighbourhoods. The parishes were organized around the churches of the Holy Cross (Surb Khach), St. Khoranov, St. Sargis, and others, including maybe the church of John the Baptist.⁷

In 1982, in the north-western sector of the old settlement, we discovered the gravestone of an Armenian boy who died in 1362; it has inscriptions on its sides. The inscriptions (translation by G. M. Grigoryan) read as follows: "This is the tomb of the deceased master Ulvarda, who appeared before Christ as a baby. Do commemorate him, we pray for your commemoration."

After the family of the famous copyist and miniaturist Nater had come to Solkhat from High Armenia at the end of the 1330s, the city became one of the notable centres of Armenian manuscript writing in the region of the northern Black Sea coast. It is not entirely clear where exactly Nater's scriptory was located.⁸ It is possible that it was part of the monastery of Surb Khach five kilometres to the southwest of Solkhat.⁹

6 *Encolpion*: (Greek *egkolpion*, that which is worn on the breast) a pectoral medallion bearing the image of Christ or the Virgin Mary, worn by bishops.

7 Khachikyan, L.: Memorial notes of Armenian manuscripts of the 14th century. Yerevan, 1950 (in Armenian), pp. 357, 435, 456, 518. I would like to express my gratitude to E. M. Korkhmazyan for the Russian translation of the text. Some authors like F. Babayan and E. Korkhmazyan insist that inside the city boundaries of the 14th century no less than ten Armenian churches were in use at the same time (Babayan, Korkhmazyan 2000, p. 11). I consider a non-critical attitude to the dates derived in their majority from late sources as counterproductive and the suggested number of city churches as a gross exaggeration.

8 In the manuscript of the Gospel from the year 1347 (Matenadaran, manuscript No. 7742; Institut Drevnykh rukopisei im. Mesropa Mashtotsa, Erevan) Nater reports: "...in the year 796 of the Armenian chronology [= 1347] this holy book was accomplished [...] in the country of the Huns, which today is called the Crimea, in the big and magnificent city of Surkhat, in upper earth houses at the walls (of the church) of the Holy Cross (Surb Khach)..." (Khachikyan 1950, p. 357). From the postscripts of the deacon Avetist, the son of Nater, to the Gospel of the year 1348 (Matenadaran, manuscript No. 7857) follows that the district or block of upper earth houses was called Chikhbnis and was located at the bottom of Surb Khach (Babayan and Korkhmazyan 2000, p. 57).

9 The earliest construction of the complex Surb Khach, the church of the Holy Sign, is dated

To illustrate the state of interethnic relations in Solkhat at that time, we cite here some observations by the Austrian art specialists Heide and Helmut Buschhausen. They established the fact that two Armenians and four Greeks worked at the miniatures of the Gospel of the 14th century produced in Solkhat (manuscript No. 242 in the collected works of the Armenian congregation of Mekhitarists in Vienna).¹⁰ Among the Armenians of Solkhat, a number of craftsmen are known. The Homiliary of 1347–1349 (Matenadaran, No. 3797¹¹) mentions jewellers, smiths, carpenters, weavers, dyers, furriers, shoemakers, tailors, gardeners, and wine-makers.

For the last decade of the 13th century, the presence of people of Latin origin in Solkhat has been established. The files of the Genoese notary Lamberto di Sambuceto who had worked in neighbouring Kaffa for three years (since July 1289) give us a certain idea of his clients in Solkhat. Among them are the wax trader Barnabo di Moniardino, the owner of a tailor's workshop Franciscus and his wife Juliana, the smith Ugolino from Piacenza who was married to a Russian woman named Franceschina, etc.¹² It is possible that a Genoese quarter existed in Solkhat already in 1290. Today it is impossible to delineate the place of the Latin district in the area. But on Jean-Balthazar de la Traverse's water-colour of around 1780, the silhouette of Eski Kyrym was still adorned with a Genoese tower. Most probably the tower rose above the Genoese hostel for travellers, which Odorico, the historian of the 18th century, called "Castello Kirma". After the defeat of Carlo Lomellino in 1437, the consulate most likely ceased to exist.

A rare bronze seal of a master metal worker can be ascribed to the findings of Latin origin. Judging by the representation of such attributes as anvil and hammer, the seal belonged to the owner of a blacksmith's workshop.

In 2004, while examining a rural settlement near Solkhat, we made a rare find. In one of the pits with household rubbish, we found, together with coins from the 13th century, fragments of three characteristic pieces of kitchenware made of thin glass (diameter 6,2 cm) and a great number of small fragments, as well as the upper rim of a vessel, all with preserved traces of coloured enamel paint. We were able to collect one small tumbler, 6,0 cm high with a diameter of 8,1 cm at the rim. The glass is semi-translucent with a greenish hue. Outside and inside, the receptacle is coated with two-coloured enamel in dark red and yellow. Around the middle, the tumbler is decorated with a band (3,0 cm high) on which three European heraldic shields alternate with three stylized bushes with heart-like leaves. The heraldic shields with oblique crossing and wavy edge are tinted in two colours – dark red and a slightly

according to the inscription on the dome's drum, reconstructed in 1358; possibly the memorable note in the Gospel of 1347 draws us eleven years closer to the initial date. The attempts of F. Babayan and E. Korkhmazyan to date the church of the Holy Sign to the 13th century must be viewed critically; they contradict the archaeological material presented by the authors (Babayan and Korkhmazyan 2000, p. 17–18).

10 Buschhausen 1976.

11 Institut Drevnykh rukopisei im. Mesropa Mashtotsa, Erevan.

12 Balard 1973, pp. 68, 96, 140, 141, 187, 193, 207, 220, 268, 269, 285, 292, 293.

lighter red with some yellow. Our tumbler refers to the group of glass from the circle around Master Aldrevandini, but I will not jump to conclusions and simply attribute it to the workshops of Venice (fig. 6). It is possible that the workshop where the glass was produced should be sought among the craft centres of Latin Romania. Whether Kaffa functioned as such a centre is still doubtful.

According to the circumstances of the discovery, the cup dates back to the end of the 13th century. Heraldry allows us to speculate about the Genoese customer of this find from Solkhat. A similar emblem belonged to the family of the Genoese nobleman Moneglia from Albergo Giustiniani.¹³ In the period between 1289 and 1290, seven members of the Moneglia family visited Kaffa for commercial reasons.¹⁴ One more fragment of European glass with two-coloured enamels was discovered in the city itself.

There exists no information about the Judaic population of Solkhat in the 13th century.¹⁵ The number of trustworthy monuments of the Jewish community in the city is quite insignificant. In 1979, we found the fragment of a stele containing an inscription in Hebrew with square lettering.¹⁶ According to the inscription, the date of the gravestone is 1551. The accidental find of a silver stamp with ornaments dating, maybe, back to the 15th century, and a bilingual Arabic-Karaim inscription is also worth mentioning. Its Arabic text has been deciphered and translated by A. F. Akimushkin: "Moses, son of the venerable teacher Malik, let God preserve him". The Karaim inscription has not yet been deciphered.

The polyphony in a Solkhat street cannot be understood without the characteristics of mass-produced ceramics. I will try to show this on the example of only two finds. A cup found by us in 1986 during the exploration of the central sector of medieval Solkhat can be dated with the help of coins as belonging to the first half of the 14th century. Its outside decoration represents the scene of a feast in a pomegranate garden at which five or six youths take part (one of the figures is not clearly identified). The participants of the feast are strikingly young and occupy an equal place at the feast. It is reasonable to assume that they represent an association of

13 Scorza 1924, p. 157, No. 480.

14 Balard 1973, pp. 45, 55, 194, 299, 562, 563, 570, 578, 665, 704, 737, 873, 874.

15 Up till now the dispute between representatives of the Karaim community and rabbis regarding the assignment of the *kenassa*-synagogue has not been resolved (archaeological examinations have not been carried out yet). Among the distinguished personalities in Solkhat of the mid-14th century we mention here Avraam Krymskii, born in Solkhat, who was a well-known exegete and rationalist. He wrote in Solkhat an extensive Commentary on the Pentateuch (collection of the National Library of Saint-Petersburg). From the preface to this Commentary we learn that Shemarya ben Iliya Ikriti from Negropont was a teacher of Avraam.

16 The inscription on the facade of the stele reads as follows: "Monument dedicated to the memory of the elder, son of Joseph, let his memory be blessed, son of Abraham, let his memory be blessed. And he (the son of Joseph) passed away on the 3rd day of the 23rd of the month Adar, in the first year 5311 from the creation of the world. [*Sic* in the Russian original.] Let his soul be interlaced with the wreath of life." My deep gratitude goes to E. N. Meshcherskaya for the translation of this inscription.

young men, called *fityan* (Arab., sing. *fata*: young man, youth). According to the stylistics and analogies with Asia Minor, the cup, made in Solkhat, continued the tradition of the Seljuk ceramic school of Anatolia.¹⁷ Another indicative object reflecting the tastes of the Islamic community is a feast tumbler found in Azak¹⁸ depicting the Garden of Eden. The cup was produced in Saray and belongs to a group of imports from the capital, discovered in Solkhat in the form of fine fragments. Our research shows that in the 14th century, alongside with Islamic traditions also Byzantine traditions existed in the urban pottery of Solkhat.

Already by the first half of the 14th century, an indigenous school of jewellery had developed in the eastern Crimea. We can evaluate this school on the basis of some items from the Simferopol treasure. According to our attribution, the treasure belonged to a ruler of the Crimea¹⁹ and, possibly, some ornaments had been commissioned by him in Solkhat.

Thus, the city of the Golden Horde in the Crimea appeared to be as multifaceted as was the life in its streets. The cultural image of Solkhat was defined by three main conditions: first, the ethnic heterogeneity of its local population; second, the confessional versatility of the separate religious communities, including the Muslim one; third, the openness of urban culture to a wide spectrum of innovations from both the Muslim East and the Latin West. In this sense, in the period between the 13th and 14th centuries, the daily life of Solkhat represented perhaps the ideal model of a “crossroad of cultures”, which is more or less typical for the whole of the medieval Crimea.

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Architectural Monuments of the Period of the Crimean Khanate: State of Research, General Conditions, Problems

Nicole Kançal-Ferrari

This paper is focused primarily on the state of research and the condition of the monuments of the architectural heritage of the Crimean Khanate. Problems art historians are faced with in researching this period are illustrated and possible solutions are discussed. A further concern is the problem of conservation and restoration of the monuments because many monuments need immediate protection.

The examination of the development and history of the architecture of the Crimean Khanate is rather difficult because only few monuments still exist today. Since the annexation of the Crimea by Russia in 1783, most of the edifices from the Islamic period have been lost. In the first years after the annexation several monuments were destroyed. A second, and even worse, wave of destruction began in the 20th century, especially under Stalin.¹ As a consequence, this continuous and systematic cleansing of every sign of Islamic culture on the Crimea has left us with very few monuments. Besides the nearly countless numbers of monuments that disappeared since the annexation of the Crimean Khanate to Russia, there are also many small objects, for example, objects found in excavations, found by chance or held by private persons, and an especially large number of gravestones that were lost.² Everywhere in the world, especially in Islamic culture, vast graveyards are laid out like gardens with gravestones as the symbol of a culture, which once existed. They testify that there was once a population living there to whom these gravestones belonged. As gravestones can be easily moved, it is no wonder that the large

1 An illustration of the immense destruction that took place during and after the annexation can be found in E. D. Clarke, *Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia and Africa. I, Russia, Tartary, and Turkey*, (1811), New York: Arno Press, 1970. To get an idea of the dimensions of the destructions or, for a small number, transformations of buildings during the last two centuries we refer to the presentation by Ibrahim A. Abdullaev at the symposium. He gave the number of mosques at the moment of the Russian conquest as 1540, at the end of the 19th century as 737. At the end of the 1980s there was no mosque open for prayer. Most of these mosques were destroyed, but some of the buildings were reused as museums (as in Gözleve and Bahçesaray), churches, or shops (as in Kefe/Kaffa). In the 1990s, some of the existing mosques were reopened for prayer.

2 In the Crimea, increasingly questions about the fate of monuments, objects, and written material are being asked. See for example Nikolay Semena, It is Time to Collect – Treasures, Traditions, History... In: *Krimskii Studii. Information Bulletin*, vol. 3–4 (21–22) May–August 2003. URL: [http://www.cidct.org.ua/en/studii/3–4\(2003\)/](http://www.cidct.org.ua/en/studii/3–4(2003)/). Available: Sept. 27, 2004.

graveyards with a huge number of gravestones disappeared nearly completely from the edges of settlements where they were originally situated.

In the 1920s and 1930s, some archaeological investigations have been undertaken, especially in Eskiyurt, Salacık and Eskikırım (Solkhata). The excavation reports show that rich material existed.³ Some of the material was transferred to Hansaray Museum, the palace of the former Crimean Khans in Bahçesaray (fig. 1, 2), and some is said to have been brought to the Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg. This material should be published in a critical catalogue, in order to convey this heritage to a larger group of scholars dealing with this period and to persons who cannot go to St. Petersburg to inspect this material said to be stored in the depots.⁴ An ongoing discussion concerns the artifacts and objects of Crimean Tatar culture outside the Crimea and of possibly “bringing them home”.⁵ The first result of this discussion should be the publication of an inventory of known objects in and outside the Crimean peninsula.

In the Crimea, some mosques, *türbe* (mausolea), *medrese*, and small monuments like fountains and gravestones, as well as the palace of the Crimean Khans at Bahçesaray, an extraordinary and unique monument, still exist today. Due to some

3 Most of these excavation reports are not published, but some illustrations and drawings from the reports are on permanent exposition at Hansaray Museum. These reports, together with the drawings, should be published because they contain important information on what existed at these places and has since been lost. They are even more important because they show the objects, later lost or transferred to other places, in their original setting. Only short accounts of these expeditions have been published. See: Usein Bodaninskii, *Arkheologicheskoe i étnograficheskoe izuchenie tatar v Krymu*, Simferopol', 1930; I. Borozdin, Kırım'da Tatar Medeniyeti Sahasında Yeni Keşifler. In: *Oku İşleri Mecmuası*, vol. 8–9, 1925–26, pp. 10–17. An excellent publication is Osman Akchokrakly's *Staro-Krymskie i Otuzkie nadpisi XIII–XV vv.* In: *Izvestiya Tavricheskogo obshchestva istorii, arkheologii i étnografii*, Akmeschit, 1927, vol. 1 (58), pp. 5–17. This article contains descriptions of all gravestones together with their inscriptions found in Otuzlar and Eskikırım (Solkhata). Another important research was conducted by Akchokrakly in Çufut-Kale: Osman Akchokrakly, *Novoe iz istorii Chufut-Kale*, Simferopol' 1928. A large number of photographs taken by Usein Bodaninskii exist as well. It is planned to publish them as a collaboration project between Turkey and the Crimea.

4 Although people in the Crimea frequently mention that a large number of objects were taken out of the Crimea, scholars like Mark Kramarovskiy, The Hermitage State Museum in St. Petersburg, who was directly involved in the excavations at Eskikırım (Solkhata), do not confirm this, especially with respect to the gravestones. When we questioned him about the fate of the gravestones listed at the beginning of the 20th century by Osman Akchokrakly and now lost, he assured us that these objects had not been taken out of the Crimea, but were lost on the territory of the peninsula. The discussions about the activities of the expedition of the Hermitage Museum can only come to an end when finally a critical publication about its activity in Eskikırım, including the excavation reports and a list of all the objects found on site during the work, will be published. This should be done not only for the Özbek Han Mosque and the İnci Hanım Medrese but for all the monuments that were examined in the region,

5 An interesting discussion on this subject is: Cultural values of Crimean Tatars. The methods for revival. In: *Krimskii Studii. Information Bulletin*, vol. 3–4 (15–16), May–August 2002. URL: <http://www.cidct.org.ua/en/studii/15-16/>. Available: Dec. 24, 2004.

important engagements, this palace, now used as a museum, was conserved and not destroyed. It is, on one hand, the only remaining witness of the palatine tradition of the khans and, on the other, a unique example of the civil architecture of the khanate.

It is all but easy to find enough sources and literature dealing with the art and architecture of the Crimean Khanate period.⁶ The first problem researchers are faced with is the lack of scientific publications, books, and articles on the subject, while for publications that do exist, there is the ongoing question of their validity. Only in recent years, research has taken a wider cultural approach to the peninsula during the Crimean Khanate period, based mainly on the interpretation of archival sources.⁷ Due to a new political atmosphere, this slow opening process allowed the publication of new archival material, also in the Ukraine, and new discussions have been started on old subjects.⁸ At the same time, an important step towards the study and conservation of the architectural heritage of the peninsula has been taken within the framework of the *Inventory of Turkish Monuments in the Ukraine* project, whose goal is to list all the existing monuments in the region.⁹

An important factor of the increasing interest in the Turkish-Islamic and, more specifically, the Crimean Khanate period of the peninsula, is without doubt the return of the deported native population, the Crimean Tatars, to their motherland and the vindication of their historical and cultural past.

The Crimean peninsula and all the countries once belonging to the Crimean Khanate are considered “transit regions”, or, perhaps a better term would be “central

6 To cite the most important ones: A. L. Yakobson, *Srednevekovyi Krym*, Moskva–Leningrad: Nauka, 1964; Chim Krikun, *Pamyatniki Krymskotatarskoi Arkhitektury*, Simferopol’: Tavriya, 2001; O. I. Dombrovskii, *Arkhitekturnye pamyatniki Kryma*, Simferopol’, 1977; Oktay Aslanapa, *Kırım ve Kuzey Azerbaycan’da Türk Eserleri*, İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, Yahya Kemal Enstitüsü, 1979; Oktay Aslanapa (ed.), *Sanatı, Tarihi, Edebiyatı ve Musikisiyle Kırım*, Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 2003; Svetlana Tschervonnaja, *Die Kunst der tatarischen Krim* (ed. Barbara Kellner-Heinkele), Berlin/Moskau, 1995.

7 See for example the work of Y. Öztürk about the town of Kefe in the east of the peninsula. Kefe was a part of the Ottoman Empire and not of the Crimean Khanate. The author has done thorough research in the Turkish archives and gives lists of the *mahalle* (town quarters) with their Muslim and non-Muslim population and the names of the religious centres to which the population was connected. Although this work is historical-social research, it gives us important information about the physical buildings (mosques, churches, etc.) existing in the quarters of Kefe and its region: Yücel Öztürk, *Osmanlı Hakimiyetinde Kefe 1475–1600*, Ankara, 2000.

8 The discussion about the “Fountain of Tears” in the Palace of the Crimean Khans at Bahçesaray is a good example. The fountain, famous thanks to a poem by Pushkin, was for a long time only the subject of legends and adoration without any scientific inquiries. This has changed in the last years. See A. I. Bronsteyn, Transformatsiya legendy Fontana Slez. In: *Bakhchisaraiskii istoriko-arkheologicheskii sbornik*, vol. 1, Simferopol’: Tavriya, 1997, p. 475–486.

9 The project is directed by Bozkurt Ersoy and İnci Kuyulu Ersoy under the patronage of the Turkish History Society (*Türk Tarih Kurumu*) in collaboration with a team from the Institute of Archaeology of the National Academy of Science of the Ukraine in Kiev. The results of these investigations are not yet published.

regions” or crossroads between east and west, north and south. As a consequence, the Khanate was always in contact with numerous countries and regimes. This also means that information on the Crimean Khanate can be found in all the countries and regions that once had been in contact with the Khanate. An adequate evaluation of the art and culture is only possible with sufficient information and facts on the Khanate’s history and culture. Today, information on the history, art, and culture of the Khanate can mainly be found in Turkish¹⁰ and Russian¹¹ archives. There are major publications in Turkish, Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, French, German, and Swedish, just to cite the most important ones. An important part of the source texts consists of travellers’ accounts.¹² As a matter of fact, it is nearly impossible to have access to all these sources, to be able to read them, or to have them translated. Each time a text is translated there are preferences of interpretation or mistakes in the translation. In the past, some of these “misinterpretations” entered publications and have then continuously been cited in other publications. Access to the sources at one place, and if possible on the internet, therefore, is an important step to facilitate research, because it would guarantee an immediate access to the information in the original texts.¹³

10 In Turkey, material on the Crimean Khanate can be found in the archives of the Topkapı Palace and in the state archives (*Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi*), both in Istanbul. See: A. Bennigsen et al., *Le Khanat de Crimée dans les Archives du Musée du Palais du Topkapı*, Paris: École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1978. The *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi* (BOA) has its catalogue now online, URL: <http://www.devletarsivleri.gov.tr/katalog/>.

11 The Russian archives contain an immense amount of information on the Crimean Khanate, but until now only a small part is published. Up till now it has been used only little to extract information on monuments, or on the exchange of artists, artisans, and material. See V. Dubrovskiy, *Türk Kırım’a Dair Tarihî Kaynak ve Araştırmalar*. In: *Dergi*, vol. 2 (4), 1956, pp. 53–76. Although the article is not new, it shows how rich the material is that can be found in the Russian archives. For published material, see V. V. Veliaminof-Zernof, *Matériaux pour Servir à l’Histoire du Khanat de Crimée*, Saint Petersburg: Commissionnaires de l’Académie Impériale des Sciences, 1864. Two major works, one on the socio-cultural structure of the early khanate and one on a specific art history topic, include in their research material on the early Crimean Khanate in Russian archives: V. E. Sroekovsky, *Muhammed Geray Han ve Vasalları*, Transl. Kemal Ortaylı, Ankara: Su Yayınları, 1978, on the period of Muhammed Geray Khan I, just before the Ottoman influence started to increase; and Nikolaus Ernst, *Bakhchisaraiskii khanskii dvorets i arhitektor del kn. Ivana III, Fryazin Aleviz Novyi*. In: *Izvestiya Tavricheskogo obshchestva istorii, arkheologii i étnografii*, vol. 2, Akmeschit, 1928, pp. 39–54, dealing with the “Iron Door” or “Demir Kapı” in the palace of the Crimean Khans in Bahçe-saray.

12 For a survey on archival material and main sources, see also A. Bennigsen et. al., *op. cit.*, pp. 405–423.

13 The İsmail Bey Gaspirali Library in Akmeschit aims at collecting any material concerning Crimean Tatar culture. The *kadi sicilleri* (court registers), now also accessible in this library, will without doubt furnish a lot of new and important information about the situation of the Crimean Khanate. To give one example, we learn of the existence of a *darbhane* (mint) in Gözleve from one of these documents, cf. Halil İnalçık: *Kırım Hanlığının Kadı Sicilleri Bulundu*. In: *Bellekten*, vol. LXVI, August 2002, no. 246, pp. 165–190. Although this material is

What does this scenario mean for the monuments concerned? The difficult resource situation and the lack of an objective discussion platform are the main problems we are faced with when studying the monuments still in existence. The lack of real research is also the main obstacle to an appropriate protection and restoration of the monuments. How do we restore a monument full of open questions?

Below we will discuss some specific monuments and give some insight into some of their particular problems.

The *türbe* (mausoleum) of Mengli Geray Khan I in Salacık is a good example of unsolved problems connected with a monument. Information about the monument was published by Jacobson, under the name of Hacı Geray Khan I. Oktay Aslanapa followed this view saying that father and son (Hacı Geray I and Mengli Geray I) were buried in the same mausoleum.¹⁴ But when we examine the literary sources (i.e., *Tarih-i Sahib Geray Han*¹⁵, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*¹⁶, *Gülbün-i Hanan*¹⁷), we see that these sources speak of two *türbe*, one in which Mengli Geray Khan I was buried and another one belonging to his father, Hacı Geray Khan I. According to these sources, some ninety years later, in this second *türbe* Hacı Geray's grandson Sahib Geray Khan I and his son Gazi Geray were buried. All cited sources agree about this, and Evliya Çelebi even speaks of many *türbe* in the region of Salacık.

Evidence of some strange facts concerning the text of the inscription of the *türbe* is not discussed in any publication. The inscription is not mentioned by Evliya Çelebi, who only cites the inscription on the entrance door of the *medrese* in Salacık. The inscription of the *türbe* was published for the first time by Dombrovskii, Borzenko, and Negri in their famous article concerning the inscriptions around Bahçesaray, however, the date they give is not correct. In the article, the date is AH 907 (AD 1501/02), but it is AH 957 (AD 1550) in the inscription.¹⁸ This late date raises a lot of questions that cannot possibly be answered here. The aim here is to show that one of the most famous edifices from the period of the Crimean Khanate, the mausoleum of Mengli Geray Khan I, poses many questions even at the very first phase of research.¹⁹

accessible now, it has not been the subject of a major publication yet. See also Ahmet Nezih Turan, Kırım Hanlığı Kadi Sicilleri Hakkında Notlar. In: *Türk Kültürü İncelemeleri Dergisi*, 9.

14 A. L. Yakobson, *op. cit.*, p. 141, and O. Aslanapa, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

15 [Remmal Hoca,] *Tāriḫ-i Şāhib Giray Ḥān* (Histoire de Sahib Giray, Khan de Crimée de 1532 à 1551). Edition critique, traduction, notes et glossaire [par] Ö. Gökbilgin, Ankara 1973.

16 Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, ed. Y. Dağlı, S. A. Karaman, R. Dankoff, C. VII, İstanbul 2003. This edition is easily accessible, because it gives a full transcription of the text, but it contains important reading mistakes.

17 Halim Giray, *Gülbün-i Hanan yahud Kırım tarihi*. M. Sadi Çögenli – R. Toparlı (eds.), Erzurum 1990 (Atatürk Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi yayınları; no. 102).

18 F. Dombrovskii et al., Bakhchisaraiskaya arabskaya i turetskaya nadpisi khanskago dvortsa, mecheti, kladbishcha. In: *Zapiski Odesskago obshchestva istorii i drevnostei*, Odessa 1848, p. 526.

19 For a discussion of the *türbe*, see also my paper: Nicole Kaňçal-Ferrari, I. Mengli Geray Han Türbesi. In: *Orta Asya'dan Anadolu'ya Türk Sanatı ve Kültürü*. Prof. Dr. Nejat Diyarbakırlı

For some months now (2004), restoration work has been going on at that location, including the mausoleum and its surroundings, but no research has been done in the room underneath the main room – the crypt –, nor around the *türbe*. The water well in front of the edifice has just been covered or disguised with black stone, a measure that cannot be justified scientifically. The *türbe* itself was painted with white wash or plaster, which is not adequate for its masonry. To be sure, the vice-director of the Hansaray Museum, Oleksa Haiworonski, assured us that this “wrong” restoration work will be replaced by a scientific one (fig. 3). The monument had suffered for many years by its location in the garden of an asylum for mentally disabled people and it has been damaged. It is strange to see that restoration work was started without any scientific background. This is even more astonishing because several investigations had been done by research expeditions from Turkey in recent years, with the goal to initiate restoration or at least a conservation project.²⁰

Zincirli Medrese, situated next to the *türbe* mentioned above, is a good example of ongoing conservation work. The Turkish International Cooperation Administration (TİKA, a government organization) provides the resources necessary for the restoration of the Zincirli Medrese near the *türbe*. Fortunately, with the work going on, some research in the neighbourhood has been completed. Around the *medrese*, some surface excavations have been done and careful conservation and restoration takes place. But even for this monument, no exact research or analysis had been undertaken before. For example, the inscriptions have not entirely been read and published. The three-part inscription on the entrance wall is not mentioned in any publication. This inscription is a *spolium* from another building erected much earlier than the *medrese* and it should be interpreted as evidence of a Turkish-Islamic settlement before the foundation of the Crimean Khanate, probably belonging to the Golden Horde period. This *spolium* alone is sufficient for inquiries into the settlement and population of Salacık and its neighbourhood and the coexistence of sedentary, mostly Christian and Jewish, inhabitants and the tribal people of the Golden Horde. It should also be an inspiration for further investigations into these environments.

Upon our request, the directors of TİKA agreed that the *türbe* of Mengli Geray Khan I and the Gaspıralı School, situated between the Zincirli Medrese and the mausoleum buildings, should be included in the restoration project simply because these three buildings have been forming a unit since the beginning of the 20th century. According to the directors of TİKA, this should be easy if there would be a restoration project, but no project plan exists.

Armağanı, (ed. Y. Çoruhlu, N. Türkmen, N. Seçkin), İstanbul: Kabalıcı Yayınevi, 2006, pp. 259–268, photos pp. 627–629.

20 Experts of the *Vakıflar Müdürlüğü* (Directorate of Foundations) and of the *Türk Tarih Kurumu* (Turkish History Society) investigated especially Salacık and Bahçesaray. But no restoration project was yet initiated.

In the Crimea, there are many monuments that have not really been studied but are attributed to a period or to a person without giving the source on which the attribution was based. The attribution of an edifice to a period or to a person is made sometimes on the basis of unpublished material, but in most cases it is made on the basis of earlier attributions. This is the case with the monuments in Eskiuyurt, where no inscriptions are left except one²¹, and it is also the case for the *türbe* in Bahçesaray, attributed to the period before the Crimean Khanate, just called 'Old *Türbe*'.²² The building is very interesting because of its small graveyard and the possible crypt or grave room, now closed with bricks and cement. Just to raise an issue, there should have been a mausoleum in Bahçesaray outside the Khans' palace belonging to two khans of the Geray dynasty, but this is not mentioned in any approach to the monument.²³

We can say that there is a real problem regarding resources, attribution and examination of the monuments. The lack of basic information causes difficulties in situating these monuments in their appropriate context.

The capital of the Crimean Khanate, Bahçesaray, is the most important town in the Crimea giving evidence to a lost culture. The whole town is a microcosm of traditional life during and after the khanate period. Bahçesaray shows a traditional town structure and should be seen and studied with this focus. Being the only town in the Crimea that did not experience russification during the last two centuries, Bahçesaray should be conserved with regard to its typical structure (fig. 4).

The palace of the khans of the Crimea – the so-called Hansaray – in Bahçesaray is an excellent example of palatine life between nomadic and sedentary traditions. Hansaray is so important because it had been inhabited for almost three hundred years by the Crimean khans and therefore reflects their way of life and their understanding of domestic architecture.

With regard to the palace of the khans, we have to deal with difficulties that are similar to those in Salacık; namely that not enough analysis and research is being carried out before the restoration. As the most important monument remaining today from the period of the Crimean Khanate and unique in its character not only for the Crimea but for the entire region, this palace and its surroundings deserve all the

21 See also the paper by Oleksa Haiworonski, presented at the symposium in 2004, on the settlement of Eskiuyurt (An Overview of the Mediaeval Crimean Tatar Settlement of Eski Yurt. In: *EJOS. Electronic Journal of Oriental Studies*, vol. VIII (2005), No. 1, pp. 1–11. URL: <http://www2.let.uu.nl/Solis/anpt/ejos/pdf8/Haiworonski-fin01.pdf>. Available: 16.01.2006), and his website on the subject, URL: http://www.eskiuyurt.org.ua/chr_haiworonski2.html. He gives the names of the owners of two *türbe* as Ahmet Bey and Mehmet Bey, indicating that this is only an arbitrary attribution. The project of the Bahçesaray Historical and Cultural State Preserve to create an open air museum in the region of Eskiuyurt will hopefully be realized. At the same time, the excavation reports concerning the region and the existing inscriptions (for example the one visible in the basement of one of the buildings) should be published.

22 Usein Bodaninskii, *Tatarskie "dyurbe"-mavzolei v Krymu*, Simferopol' 1927, pp. 2–3.

23 Halim Giray, *Gülbün-i Hanan*, pp. 74, 91.

attention and all the sensibility possible and should not be the stage of short-term profits or internal personal rivalry.

At Hansaray, much can be done with little financial effort. Restoration work has started under the guidance of the Ministry of Culture of the Ukraine (fig. 5). An inventory of the library is being made, supported by TİKA. Furthermore, in the gardens and in the graveyard of the palace, a simple ground examination can lay the basis for further research.²⁴ This has partially been done in the so-called Persian garden or third garden of the harem where, after some excavations, a small *hamam* or Turkish bath has been found. But also the fourth garden of the harem, the garden next to the Persian garden, should be examined closely because of possible remains of buildings now lost. Today, the garden does not even belong to the palace area. The same can be said about the area behind these gardens, where the water reservoir of the palace still exists, presently partly built over by houses.

The *türbe* of Dilara Bikeç, situated at the southern end of the palace area, is an extraordinary monument. This mausoleum, said to belong to the young wife of Kırım Geray Khan, Dilara Bikeç, is an example of the architecture of the last period of the khanate and a unique example of a sepulchral monument showing Western influence in style. This monument and its environment need immediate conservation and restoration (fig. 6).

The larger monuments, such as mausolea and some mosques that are still standing today need immediate protection and restoration as well. But before they can be restored, they have to be examined maintaining scientific standards, taking into consideration their cultural context. Moreover, some excavation work must be undertaken in Salacık, Bahçesaray and Eskiuyurt, just to cite the most urgent places. If these places are just 'restored' without proper examination, *i.e.*, not restored in a way that takes into consideration the individual character of each monument and preserving each little trace of its original state, then the monuments lose the characteristics that connect them to their cultural history. If this should happen, the edifices are only folkloric illustrations of a lost past. This is partly the case for the Hansaray today. Cut off from its cultural history, it remains just a folkloric curiosity.

My first recommendation would be to establish a databank containing sources, scientific literature, and pictures of all the edifices. Then, especially archaeological work with its past or present findings must be made public. This is important in order to have a survey of what exists where and in what condition, because a large number of monuments need immediate protection and conservation. It is also necessary to stop losses of the remaining objects through destruction or 'disappearance' or the loss of information these objects can furnish; for example, inscriptions on grave-stones can be harmed before they have been read, or not knowing the finding place of an object takes this object out of its environment and its identity gets lost.

24 See also my inventory of the cemetery: Nicole Kançal-Ferrari, Saray'a bağlı bir Cami ve Haziresi: Kırım Hanlığı'nın Payitahtı Bahçesaray'daki Hansaray'ın Haziresi. In: *Belleten*, CLXVI (August 2002), pp. 371–420.

I propose a forum where everyone dealing with the region and the subject can participate. Its main goal would be to share and exchange knowledge. The easiest way would be to use the internet, as this medium is accessible today to everyone. The announcement of new publications and their translation into English should be a part of the forum.

Another important point is the conservation, restoration, storage, and exposition of the existing objects. Therefore it is necessary to have a modern museum building in order to exhibit the objects that have survived and been preserved in good condition. Hansaray Palace is not an appropriate place for larger expositions. The large number of objects that are stored in the depots represents rich material that needs to be inventorized and then stored in a way that protects them from damage. The best solution would be to exhibit them. The storage places in Hansaray Palace alone contain a lot of information on the past of the Crimea.

The preservation of only a small number of monuments belonging to the Khanate period in the Crimea limits our knowledge of the architecture, its techniques, style, and its meanings. Therefore, collaboration in the examination, conservation, and restoration work is needed between scholars in the Crimea and regions where more experience with this period, its culture and techniques is available. This is primarily the case in Turkey. A close cooperation between experts is absolutely necessary.

The objective of this article was not only to draw attention to the difficulties and obstacles scholars face when working with monuments of the Islamic period, or more specifically the period of the Crimean Khanate, but also to appeal to everyone who works with issues regarding the Crimea to realize the importance of these edifices and the urgency with which they need to be examined. This paper has given only a cursory picture of what lies ahead in the research and recovery of these precious monuments.

Relations between Saxony and the Crimean Tatars in the 17th and early 18th Centuries

Holger Schuckelt

Saxony's contacts with the Middle East can be traced back to the 15th century. Following the conquest of Constantinople by Sultan Mehmed II in 1453, even rulers who were not directly affected came to appreciate the military threat to Europe posed by the Ottomans. Contemporary sources reveal that in Saxony, too, preventive measures were taken to ward off any potential attack by the advancing Turkish troops. Such sources include the 1471 Regensburg Peace Treaty concluded by Emperor Friedrich III (1452–1493) on account of the Turkish threat, a letter from Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary (1458–1490), to Dukes Ernst and Albrecht of Saxony in 1483 requesting their assistance against the Ottomans, as well as a number of 'Turk Tax' (*Türkensteuer*) registers, to cite just a few examples.¹ Despite this military tension, it was initially in the civil and religious spheres that contact was made with the Middle East, namely through pilgrimages. Three Saxon dukes travelled to the Holy Land during this period (Duke Wilhelm III of Saxony in 1461, Duke Albrecht of Saxony in 1476, and Friedrich the Wise in 1493–1494).² However, these pilgrimages constituted no more than an episode. The determining factor in relations between East and West over the course of the next few centuries was the series of wars that took place primarily in the Balkans, an ongoing conflict that was often compared to the Crusades. The Electors of Saxony and their subjects were repeatedly confronted with the Ottomans, whose campaigns penetrated ever further into Europe from the 14th century onwards. Saxon soldiers, sometimes under the personal command of the Elector, fought on many battlefields against the Sultan's troops.³

After the Porte had annexed the Genoese colonies in the Crimea in 1475, the Tatar cavalry, whose reputation struck terror into the whole of Europe, played an increasingly important role in the Ottoman army. This development was undoubtedly influenced by the fact that before his accession to power Sultan Süleyman I

1 SHStA O.U. 8122; SHStA O.U. 8530 u.a.

2 Hzg. Wilhelms III. Reise in das heilige Land 1461, in *A IV*, pp. 283–320; Briefe, die Jerusalemfahrt des Herzogs Albrecht von Sachsen betreffend 1476, *NA IV*, pp. 343–346; über die Pilgerfahrt Friedrichs des Weisen nach Jerusalem 1493–94, in: *NA IV*, pp. 37–100.

3 Holger Schuckelt, Die Rolle Sachsens in den Türkenkriegen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts, in: *Im Lichte des Halbmonds – Das Abendland und der türkische Orient. Exhibition catalogue*, Dresden 1995, pp. 170–177.

(1520–1566) had resided in the port of Kaffa (modern-day Feodosiya) on the Crimean peninsula, where he was Governor of the town from 1509 until 1512.⁴ His personal experience with the Tatars as vassals and as seasoned fighters probably led him to make extensive use of their strike power and their formidable reputation. As Sultan, he concentrated his military activities on south-eastern Europe, where he deployed a great many Tatar auxiliary troops. Some of the major events in his campaigns of conquest included the capture of Belgrade (1521), the siege and capture of Rhodes (1522/23), his victory at Mohács and the capture of Ofen (1526), the recapture of Ofen (Buda) and the unsuccessful siege of Vienna (1529) and the capture of Temesvár (1551).

During this period Elector Moritz of Saxony (1547–1553) twice led his own troops to Hungary in order to fight against the Ottomans. His first Hungarian campaign took place in 1542, when he still held the title of Duke. On 16th May his infantry, under the command of Wolf Tiefstätter, set off in the direction of Hungary. He himself left Dresden with his cavalry on 3rd June, reaching the military camp outside Vienna on 18th June 1542, where he met King Ferdinand (1531–1564) and the imperial commander, Joachim von Brandenburg. The siege of Turkish-occupied Pest did not begin until 28th September. After Moritz had proven his audacity in several military encounters in early October, the siege was abruptly called off. The imperial campaign, which had been difficult to organize in the first place, ended in complete failure. Moritz marched his troops back to Dresden, arriving there during the night of 18th/19th October 1542.

Ten years later Moritz was appointed *Generalobrist* (senior general) in command of all the royal troops in Hungary. His main task was to stop the Ottomans advancing any further. On 16th September 1552, Moritz marched at the head of 5,000 cavalry and 6,000 infantry to Pressburg, moving on as far as Raab in early October. Owing to the superior might of the Turks, the Elector had to content himself with the fortification of Raab. However, the presence of these troops raised the morale of the garrison in Erlau, which was under Turkish siege. Although the campaign did not achieve any major breakthroughs, Elector Moritz of Saxony could be proud of the fact that since his intervention not a single fortress or settlement had fallen into Ottoman hands. At the beginning of November Moritz left Raab and travelled via Vienna to Dresden, where he arrived on 6th December 1552.⁵ The extent to which Tatars were deployed in this war is evident from a letter written by Franz Kram in Augsburg on 26th July 1551 and addressed to Georg Komerstadt. The writer reports that Sultan Süleyman I was sending the Beylerbey Mehmed Sokollu to Hungary and

4 Holger Schuckelt, *Der Weg der Tulpe nach Europa*, in: André van der Goes (Hrsg.), *Tulpomanie. Die Tulpe in der Kunst des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts. Exhibition catalogue*, Dresden and Zwolle 2004, pp. 15–27.

5 Holger Schuckelt, *Sachsen und die Türkenkriege*, in: Johannes Kalter & Irene Schönberger (Hrsg.), *Der Lange Weg der Türken. 1500 Jahre türkische Kultur. Exhibition catalogue*, Stuttgart 2003, pp. 103–111.

Transylvania along with 60,000 Tatars, Moldavians and Walachs as well as 20,000 Turks.⁶

No evidence has so far been found to confirm whether any booty won from the Tatars came into the possession of the Elector or his soldiers at this time. At any rate, the Dresden Armoury does not possess any Oriental objects that can be proven to have been added to the collection by Elector Moritz. That some items do originate from this period is, however, not out of the question, since even the 1606 inventory of the contents of the Armoury lists a large number of Oriental weapons. These include several weapons that were described as Tatar. These objects demonstrate the uncertainty that sometimes existed with regard to their provenance. The few surviving 'Tatar' weapons listed in the 1606 inventory are now clearly identifiable as being of Hungarian or Ottoman workmanship. It has not yet been possible to identify a Tatar reflex bow which is described only briefly. If it still exists, it is undoubtedly to be found among the Ottoman bows. The garniture consisting of bow case and quiver described along with this bow has silver fittings that originate from Hamburg. A particularly outstanding object among the group of weapons described as Tatar is a sabre, unfortunately now lost. It is recorded in the inventory entry as having belonged to the son of the sister of the Khan of the Tatars (*i.e.*, the Khan's nephew) and as having come to Dresden in 1590 as a gift from the Grand Chancellor of Poland to Elector Christian I of Saxony.⁷

The oldest surviving items associated with the Tatars came to Dresden in 1602, having been given to Elector Christian II of Saxony (1591–1611) as a gift from Emperor Rudolf II (1576–1612).⁸ The background to this generous gift from the Emperor was the series of military engagements known as the "*Langer Türkenkrieg*" (Long Turkish War) (1593–1606), in which Saxony was a close ally of the Emperor.⁹ On 21st January 1602, an imperial legation arrived in Dresden, bringing with it five Turkish or Tatar prisoners and three Oriental horses equipped with saddles, caparisons, bridles, robes and numerous weapons as gifts for the Elector. One of the prisoners was a Tatar, who rode on a dappled horse. The 1674 inventory of the *Türkenkammer* (Turkish Chamber) gives the following detailed description of the Tatar's equipment:

„Ein Tartarischer Habit mit welchen die damahlige Röm. Keyser. Mayt. glorwürdigsten andenckens am 23. Febr. ao: 1602. ein rothschimmlichten

6 Politische Korrespondenz des Herzogs und Kurfürsten Moritz von Sachsen, Bd. 5, Berlin 1998, p. 285.

7 Inventar der Rüstkammer von 1606, p. 955.

8 Holger Schuckelt, Ein kaiserliches Geschenk an Kurfürst Christian II. von Sachsen im Jahr 1602. Zur Dresdener Türkenkammer, in: *Dresdener Kunstblätter*, Heft 2/2002, Dresden 2002, pp. 67–74.

9 For details on the Long Turkish War see: Jutta Kappel, Die Türkennot des Kaisers. Zu einigen Aspekten der Darstellung des Türkenkrieges (1593–1606) in der Hofkunst Rudolfs II., in: *Im Lichte des Halbmonds – Das Abendland und der türkische Orient. Exhibition catalogue*, Dresden 1995, pp. 125–133.

Zscheckigten Roße und einen Tartar anhero praesentiret, alß, an dem Gesichte eine Tartarische Masque mit einem großen schwarzen Ober Barthe, Eine schwarze Eiserne Panzer Hauben, mit einer eisernen auf denen Streiffen vergüldeten Platte, und einer dergleichen Feder Dille, worinnen eine schwarze Straußen Feder oben mit ezlichen alten Fockenfedern, Ein Roth tuchener Rock, mit seidenen Schleiffen und Knöpfen, worunter Ein gelb Atlaßer Unter Rock mit göldenen Knöpfen und Schleiffen. Ein braun violtuchene Hosen, Eine lange gestrickte Carmesin seidene Leibbinde, Ein baar roth lederne Türckische Stiefeln, und Spohren mit sehr langen Hülsen und kleinen Rädergen, An Gewehre und Rüstung. Ein Kupferner vergüldeter Tartarischer langer arm- oder Handschuh, mit Zwecken und Ringelgen beschlagen, mit einem Carmesin sam[m]eten mit Rothen Borthen eingewülsteten Handgriffe auch die Arm Röhre inwendig mit dergleichen Sammet gefüttert, wobey ein schwarz lederner oben mit eisernen Panzer überzogener Handschuh. Ein Tartarischer Sebell, das gefäße, mit eisernen eckigten Stangen, und einer silbernen vergüldeten Kappen woran eine Kurze seidene geschlungene Goldgelbe Schnure Der griff von schwarzer Zappenhaut umbwunden und mit vergüldeten Zwecken beschlagen, in einer von schwarzer Zappenhaut umbwundenen Scheiden mit einer silbernen vergüldeten Kappe, eisernen orthbande und Banden, und einem rothlederner Gürtel, mit silbernen vergüldeten erhobenen eckigten runden Buckeln, Schnallen und Hacken, woran der eine Stiffit ermangelt, Ein Tartarischer Bogen, mit göldenen und bunden Blumen und Laubweg gemahlet in braun ledernen Köchern wie auch Noch ein Köcher, darinnen 9. lange, und 6. kurze Tartarische Pfeile, mit eisernen Spizen, oben an Dem gefieder bund gemahlet und vergüldet, Eine Tartarische von braunen leder geflochtene Carbazsche, an einem von Helffenbein und schwarzen Hornen kurzen Stiele woran ein Carmesin geschlungen seidene Schnüre."¹⁰

The description in the 1606 Armoury inventory is much shorter and gives fewer details. However, it contains some pieces of equipment that apparently no longer existed in 1674. The 1606 entry mentions, for instance, a red, green and yellow painted Tatar saddle, brass stirrups, a red leather bridle with silver fittings and a hat made of red cloth with marten-fur trimming.

Of the Tatar equipment listed in the inventory, five objects have survived in the Dresden Armoury up to the present day. These are the *misiurka* (a flat domed helmet with mail neck guard), the sash, the pair of spurs, the arm guard and the sabre with scabbard and belt. It is difficult to determine where each of these objects was produced, and hence whether they are of Tatar, Ottoman or even Christian workmanship. The *misiurka*¹¹ (fig. 1) probably is of Tatar origin. It consists of a domed

10 Inventar der Türkenkammer von 1674, pp. 138ff, Nr. 369.

11 Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Rüstkammer, Inv.-Nr. Y 2a; Inventar der Rüstkammer

casque with a riveted plume holder and a carrying ring on a central rosette. The embossed gilt ribs stand out against the blued ground of the plate. Hanging from the lower edge of the plate is chain mail made up of fine iron rings with a border of brass rings.

The 360 cm-long sash¹² (fig. 2), whose origin is unclear, is worked in sprang technique. Interwoven and crossed silk threads create lozenge and zigzag patterns. The gathered ends of the threads are held together with silk knots that form long tassels.

The Ottoman or Tatar spurs¹³ (fig. 3) were formerly attributed to an Akinji, *i.e.*, a member of the Ottoman provincial cavalry. They have long, slender shanks with small spiked rowels. The clamps are short and bulky. Attached to them are large rectangular iron buckles and small oval pendants.

The Tatar or Ottoman arm guard¹⁴ (fig. 4) for the left arm consists of two hemispherical gilt copper plates with round rivet heads along the outer edge and a lining of red velvet with light brown trimming. The two plates are joined together by two leather straps sewn into the red velvet and fitted with silver buckles. The gauntlet consists of chain mail lined with red satin on the inside and covered with red velvet on the back of the hand.

The plain Ottoman sabre¹⁵ (fig. 5) has an unadorned single-edged blade, which is double-edged at the tip. The only décor on the slightly curved, shagreen-covered hilt is the pommel cap cast in brass. It is chased, angular in form, and has a relief rosette on the end. There are two flat rivet heads on either side of the hilt. The iron cross-guard is not decorated. The wooden scabbard is covered with dark brown shagreen. The mount on the scabbard mouth is made of a gilt silver plate with openwork decoration. The chape and the two mid locketts are made of iron and have horizontal decorative stripes. The segmented brown leather belt is decorated with green leather braiding and two rosette-shaped bosses made of chased and gilt silver. The silver belt hook decorated with openwork is in the shape of a leaf, the pointed end of which merges into the hook itself.

A few decades after the gift from Emperor Rudolf II, a bow case and quiver which are regarded as Tatar on account of certain characteristics came into the Dresden collections. This garniture¹⁶ had initially belonged to the Lord High

von 1606, pp. 991–999.

12 Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Rüstkammer, Inv.-Nr. I 76; Inventar der Rüstkammer von 1606, pp. 991–999.

13 Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Rüstkammer, Inv.-Nr. L 342; Inventar der Türkammer von 1674, pp. 138, Nr. 369.

14 Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Rüstkammer, Inv.-Nr. Y 9; Inventar der Rüstkammer von 1606, pp. 991–999.

15 Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Rüstkammer, Inv.-Nr. Y 39; Inventar der Rüstkammer von 1606, pp. 991–999.

16 Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Rüstkammer, Inv.-Nr. Y 175; Inventar der Türkammer von 1674, pp. 16, Nr. 35.

Chamberlain of the Electorate of Saxony and Chief Magistrate of Chemnitz, Augustusburg and Lichtewalde, Rudolf Vitzthum von Eckstädt (1577–1639), and after his death it came into the possession of the Dresden *Türkenkammer* as part of the group of objects known as “Vitzthum’s Bequest”. The bow case and quiver, intended for a reflex bow and for the arrows used with it (fig. 6), are each made of two pieces of leather sewn together. On the fronts there is ornate appliqué décor made of coloured silk on a dark blue ground. The ornaments, which are bordered with light-coloured leather, consist of leaves, flowers (tulips, carnations), birds (doves, vultures) and palmettos. The lower part of both the bow case and the quiver has edging consisting of a broad leather strip from which small pointed oval shapes protrude inwards. Of the silver fittings, only those on the quiver have survived. The base of the quiver is broadened in the middle, making it oval in shape. The front is divided into two sections and has ten small openings for additional arrows. Unlike all the other bow case and quiver garnitures in the Dresden Armoury, the straight edges of these two objects are on the left-hand side. On Timurid and Mongol miniatures the warriors carry the bow case on the left side of the body with the opening towards the front and the quiver on the right side with the opening towards the back. The garniture under discussion is designed for this carrying method. The Ottomans, by contrast, carried both bow case and quiver with the openings towards the back, which explains the difference in the form of the bow cases. The décor also distinguishes this garniture from objects of Ottoman workmanship. Although the appliqué ornaments include carnations and tulips, which were very popular among the Ottomans in the 16th century, the overall impression of the decoration is very different from comparable works by Ottoman craftsmen.

The inventories of the Armoury and the *Türkenkammer* between 1606 and 1683 contain other objects that were allegedly of Tatar origin. Regrettably, none of the three Tatar saddles and four bridles listed and described in the 1683 *Türkenkammer* inventory has survived. Neither does the inventory provide any information about the provenance of these objects. Whilst two of the saddles were made of coloured leather partly painted in gold, the third saddle had coloured ivory inlaid in theommel and cantle.¹⁷ The two former saddles also had leather saddle flaps which were painted in different colours, as in the case of several objects from the early 18th century in the Dresden Armoury’s collection (see below). Two sabres, which are tentatively described as “Turkish or Tatar” in the inventory, are the work of Ottoman or Hungarian masters.¹⁸ A painted steel bow¹⁹ is also described in the 1683 inventory as being of Tatar origin. However, this is a mistaken attribution, as the bow is of European workmanship.

A very interesting item is a “*Tartarischer aufgesätzter Habit*” with a high Tatar hat made of red velvet and blue satin, a coat made of cotton with printed flowers, an

17 Inventar der Türkenkammer von 1683, p. 37, Nr. 53; p. 38, Nr. 55, and p. 39, Nr. 56.

18 Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden Rüstkammer, Inv.-Nr. Y 40 and Y 42.

19 Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Rüstkammer, Inv.-Nr. Y 212.

iron armguard, blue sash, blue trousers, red leather boots with spurs, a sabre with brass décor and a hilt in the form of a lion's head, a Hungarian pickaxe and a plaited whip with a wooden handle which has white winding around it. In addition to the brief description of the equipment, the inventory also provides information that goes beyond that usually recorded. „Dieser Tartar ist Zephyr genennet und Ihr Churf. Dhl. Johann Georgen dem andern glorwürdigst und Christmiltesten andenckens als damahligen Chur-Prinzen praesentiret worden, da er auch bis er im gefängniß unvermuthlich gestorben, aufgewartet, ist auf einem schwarz Hölzernen Creuze aufgehänget.“²⁰ Hence, the Tatar by the name of Zephyr was presented as a gift to Elector Johann Georg II of Saxony (1613–1680) before his accession in 1656. From whom and precisely when he received the gift is not known; nor do we know the year in which the Tatar died in prison.²¹

Most of the items cited and described so far were presumably booty from the Turkish Wars and came into the possession of the Electors of Saxony as gifts from European aristocrats, without them personally having any close contact with the Tatars. This changed after the accession of August the Strong, who became Friedrich August I, Elector of Saxony, in 1694 and was then crowned August II, King of Poland, in 1697. August the Strong was appointed commander of the imperial army and personally led his troops against the Ottomans in Hungary (1695/96).²² As King of Poland he became an immediate neighbour of the Ottomans and Tatars, which resulted in the establishment of direct diplomatic relations. However, since August the Strong had promised at his coronation in Cracow to recapture the fortress at Kamieniec from the Ottomans, military conflict was initially predominant over other contacts. Saxon troops from Hungary and Saxony were mustered at Cracow and Lemberg (Lviv). In mid-August 1698, the Saxon troops joined up with Polish and Lithuanian forces at Lemberg. At the same time, an Ottoman-Tatar army set out to defend the fortress at Kamieniec but was repulsed over the Podolian border by the advancing Polish troops. Meanwhile, negotiations between the Emperor and the Sultan resulted in the signing of the Peace of Karlowitz on 12th January 1699, ending both the Austro-Ottoman War and the Polish-Ottoman War. Under this treaty, Poland regained its former possessions in Podolia and the Ukraine without further fighting.

In the Great Northern War (1700–1721) Saxon-Polish troops under August the Strong (1694–1733) fought alongside Russians and Danes against the forces of Charles XII of Sweden (1697–1718) and his allies, the Ottomans and Tatars. Following the devastating defeat of the Swedish army by the Russians at Poltava on 27th June/8th July 1709, Charles XII fled into Ottoman territory along with what was left

20 Inventar der Türkenkammer von 1683, p. 186, Nr. 367.

21 According to the inventory of the Turkish Chamber (*Inventar der Türkenkammer von 1716*) the Tatar's clothing and equipment was initially used to decorate various figures. In 1793 and 1814 most of the items were sold.

22 Schuckelt 1995, cf. footnote 3.

of his army. From his refuge in Bender he endeavoured to continue fighting and draw the Ottomans into the conflict. Saxon-Polish envoys²³ travelled to Istanbul and Bakhchisaray to visit the Sultan and the Khan of the Crimean Tatars. In return, Turkish-Tatar legations were received in Poland. The gradually diminishing prestige of the Swedish king in the eyes of the Sultan strengthened the position of August the Strong. The Tatars initially assumed the role of mediators between the King of Poland and the Sultan, before regular legations were exchanged in order to preserve the now good relations between Poland and the Ottomans and Crimean Tatars.

Initial low-level talks were held as early as the summer of 1712, resulting in an agreement to maintain closer contacts. At this time an envoy of August the Strong, Freiherr von der Golz, was already in Istanbul preparing for the arrival of an official royal Polish mission. In exchange, a Turkish-Tatar legation had been sent to Lemberg, where it arrived in September. At last the foundation was laid for the exchange of government-level ambassadors to the respective courts at Istanbul and Warsaw. The first in this series of official Turkish-Tatar diplomatic visits to Poland was made in 1713. In the meantime, Charles XII's standing in the eyes of the Ottomans had deteriorated even further. In early February 1713, his obstinacy had resulted in the Sultan employing military force to have him arrested in Bender, which of course facilitated the negotiations between Saxony-Poland and the Turks and Tatars. As early as the end of March 1713, the Polish royal commander awaited the arrival of representatives of the Serasker of Bender and the Khan of the Tatars in Lemberg. From there they travelled on to Warsaw, where they had an audience with August the Strong on 21st April.²⁴ The main topics of discussion were to be the presence of Russian troops in Poland and Charles XII's journey home. As a result of these talks, the King of Poland had instructions drawn up for his new ambassadors, La Mar and Bonafous, on 2nd May 1713.

In autumn 1713, another Turkish-Tatar legation travelled via Lemberg to Warsaw where they conveyed letters from their superiors to August the Strong in order to reinforce their friendship. In addition to the aforesaid matters, they discussed such subjects as the expansion of the fortress at Chocim (Khotin), which the Turkish side said was necessary for the preservation of peace.²⁵

Of the gifts presented to August the Strong on this occasion, the only item that has so far been identified with certainty is a whip²⁶. This object, which appears unremarkable at first sight, was undoubtedly only a small item among the gifts from the Khan of the Tatars. Through comparison with other gifts presented in similar circumstances, it can be presumed that the whole gift consisted of a fully-equipped

23 A detailed publication concerning the diplomatic contacts between August the Strong and the Sultan, with particular reference to the years 1711–1714, is forthcoming.

24 Cf. SHStA Loc. 3326, fol. 135, Letter from Warsaw dated 23rd April 1713.

25 Cf. SHStA Loc. 3552, fol. 426f, Letter from the Serasker Abdi Pasha to August the Strong dated 1st September 1713.

26 Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Rüstkammer, Inv.-Nr. Y 168; Inventar der Türkenskammer von 1716, Nr. 172.

Oriental horse with bridle, saddle, stirrups and caparison. Nevertheless, the whip is extremely interesting. Not only because it really is a Tatar object but also because, according to the entry in the inventory, the whip was “*von des Tartar Hans Gemahlin selbst verfertiget worden*” (‘made by the wife of the Khan of the Tatars herself’). The whip consists of a straight staff of red-brown briarwood. It is decorated with small s-shaped silver fittings, some of which are gilt, and ivory end pieces. At the lower end is a hand loop with tassels made of coloured silk. The upper half of the staff has gold, silver and coloured silk threads wrapped around it. The whip itself consists of leather covered with plaited threads of gold, silver and coloured silk. At its end is a broad ribbon produced in the tablet weaving technique and ending in a fringe of loose strands.

Just one year later, another mission was sent to Poland by the Khan of the Tatars, Qaplan Giray I (1713–1716). In late July or early August 1714 the legation arrived in Rydzyna (Western Poland), where “*Sefer Şak Aga*” was received by August the Strong himself. The topics of conversation had changed little. They were again concerned mainly with inter-state relations during the Great Northern War, the exiled Swedish king, Charles XII, and the Russian troops in Poland. The gifts from the Khan, which the Aga presented on 9th August, were described in detail in the inventory of the Inventionskammer:

„Specification Dererjenigen Türckisch- und Tartarischen Sättel mit darzu gehörigen Decken und Zeugen, auch anders mehr, so Ihro Königl. Mayth. in Pohlen und Churf. Durchl. Zu Sachßen von den Tartar-Cham zum Praesent übersendet, und durch dieselbigen beyden Abgesandten in Reußen, den 9.ten Augt. 1714 übergeben worden, alß:

Ein rothsammetner Sattel, fornem auf gelben Saffian den Grund mit Golde durchnehet, mit darauf befindl. Silbernen Blumen, hinten den Grund gleichgestalt auf gelben Saffian mit Golde durchnehet, und darauf stehenden erhobenen gold- und silbernen 25. stück Rosen, deren iede in der mitte mit einer rothen, neben denen Rosen aber die Spatia mit 40. stück schwarzen Corallen besetzt, benebenst 1. paar silbern Steigbiegeln mit rothen ledern Steig-Riehmen, 1. Gurt, 1. rothen ledern schlechten hinter Zeuge, und 1. rothen Unterlege-Küßen. Hierbey ist noch

Eine große Decke²⁷ über den Sattel, dessen Grund von Silber, und darauf geformeten mit schwarzer seiden umbnäheten goldenen Blühmgen, an beyden Enden und in der mitte einer quer Handt breit goldenen Grund, nebst daran wie auch hinten herumb abhängenden gold- und silbernen Rund-Schnürgen, so durchaus mit gelben Atlas gefütteret,

Eine Decke²⁸, deßen Grund von Golde, im darin gewürckten großen goldenen Blumen und mit grünen Daffet gefütteret.

27 Sold in 1834.

28 Whereabouts unknown.

Eine rothtuchene Handt-Decke²⁹ mit blauer Türckischer Leinenwandt gefüttert,

Ein gewürckter seidener Gurt über den Sattel, von unterschiedl. Farben, Ein Türckisch silbern und vergoldetes Haupt-Gestelle mit dergl. daran befindl. Kleinen 15. Panzer-Kettgen, auf beyden seiten an denen untersten Kettgen, wie auch fornem auf den Stirn-Riehmern dergl. hangende 49. stück Bammelgen, dann untern Halße eine silberne und vergoldete Panzer-Kette mit unten daran befindl. Silbern und vergoldeten Kügelgen, umb welcher auch 5. stück Bammelgen, benebenst d. rothen Ledern mit Silber und blauer seiten durchneheten Ziegel, wobey noch 1. silbern und vergoldete Panzer-Ketten-Halfter, mit daran befindl. Rothseidenen Rund-Schnürgen, hierüber 1. silbern und vergoldetes Förderzeug von getriebener Arbeit, in der mitten eine große dergl. Buckel in Form einer Rosen,

Einen rothsammetnen Sattel³⁰, nebst dergleichen mit gold- und silbernen Blumen gestückten Siz-Küßen, der Baum fornem und hinten mit silbernen Blech beschlagen, worauf goldene Blumen, fornem aufm Sattel-Knopffe wie auch hinten aufm Baume der Sammet mit silbernen Nageln angeschlagen, dabey Ein Paar silberne und vergoldete Steigbiegel³¹ mit weißen ledernen Steig-Riehmern, hierüber Ein Paar rothe auf der rechten seiten mit rothen und grünen Blumen gemahlte und lacirte Beinleder³², Ferner einem in der mitten mit rother Leinewandt, an beyden Enden aber eine quer Handt breit von gelben Atlas bezogenen Unterlege Küßen³³, über welchen Küßen eine rothe Cortuane umb und umb mit gold- und silbernen Blumen durchnähet Decke, unter diesen Küßen aber eine von feinen rothen Tuche, auch umb und umb, und auf denen 4. Ecken mit silbernen Blumen und grünen seidenen Zweigen durchnehet Decke, die Blumen mit geschlungenen goldenen Fäden auf bemelten Decken herumb eingefasset, Unter welcher noch eine schlechte weißtuchene Decke.

Hierzu ist noch

Eine feine rothtuchene, ebenfals umb und umb, und zwar mit gold-blau- und rothseidenen Blumen durchnähet Decke³⁴, die Blumen auch mit geschlungenen goldenen und schwarzseidenen Fäden herumb eingefasset, und mit blauer Leine-Wandt gefüttert, so über den Sattel gehörig.

Ferner

Ein schwarz ledernes Haupt-Gestelle³⁵ mit silbern und vergoldeten gebrochenen Nasenbande, nebst darauf befindl. 18. dergl. Schleiffen, 8. kleinen

29 Whereabouts unknown.

30 Sold in 1834.

31 Sold in 1834.

32 Sold in 1834.

33 Disposed of in 1803.

34 Whereabouts unknown.

35 Sold in 1834.

Buckelgen, 1. Schnallen, und 5. doppelten Niethen, daran einem von gold und rother seiden durchwürckten Stirn-Riehmern, auch einer schlechten Trenße. Item

Ein dergl. schwarz ledern Hinterzeug³⁶ mit darauf befindl. Silbern und vergoldeten 2. Stifften, 4. Schleiffen 2. Schnalen, auch 62. ... kleinen silbernen Buckelgen, auf der mitten des Hinterzeuges, eine große silberne und vergoldete Buckel mit darauf gestochenen Zierathen, woran ein wenig von gold und rother seiden durchwürckte Tresse:

Ein schlechter roth Jochtener Sattel³⁷, fornem und hinten mit 10. stücken gelben Blech beschlagen, auf beyden seiten des Sattels gemahlte und lacirte Beinleder, nebst 1. paar eisernen Steigbiegeln mit weißen ledernen Steig-Riehmern, 1. weißen schlechten Gurte, 1. Unterlege Küßen von weißen Filze, so oben mit rothen, unten aber gelben Leder bezogen, und 1. rothtuchernen Überzeuge,

Ein schlechter roth Jochtener Sattel, fornem und hinten mit 4. runten vergoldeten Blechen von getriebener Arbeith beschlagen, auf beyden seiten des Sattels gemahlte und lacirte Beinleder, nebst 1. paar eisernen Steigbiegeln mit weißen ledernen Steig-Riehmern 1. weißen schlechten Gurte, 1. Unterlege Küßen von weißen Filze, so oben mit rothen, unten aber gelben Leder bezogen, und 1. rothtuchernen Überzuge,

Hierüber

Ein Türkischer Sebel mit einer rothsammetnen und Silber von getriebener Arbeith, so vergoldet, beschlagenen Scheide, daran der Hefft nur hölzern und mit gelben stifften eingeschlagen nebenst dabey befindlicher rothseidenen Rundschnure.

Vorher beschriebene 4. stück Türkische Sättel mit ihrer Zubehör, und 1. Türk. Sebel, sind von Reußen aus Groß-Pohlen auf die Königl. Pohl. und Churf. Sächß. Rüst-Cammer nacher Dreßden überschickt worden, den 19. Septembris, ao: 1714.³⁸

The gift presumably also included Oriental horses, but this has not yet been proven convincingly. Of the items described in the inventory, two saddles with stirrups, a bridle comprising headstall, nose-band with reins, and chest piece, as well as a sabre with scabbard, have survived, whereas other items, in particular the textiles, were sold in the late 18th/early 19th century.

The first of the two saddles³⁹ is of Ottoman workmanship. The wooden tree is covered with leather and the whole saddle covered with red velvet. The pommel and cantle each have a ground of vellum decorated with ornate silver embroidery depicting floral motifs, as well as 25 bosses and inlaid corals. Around the outer edge

36 Sold in 1834.

37 Sold in 1798.

38 Inventar der Inventionskammer um 1700, fol. 30ff.

39 Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Rüstammer, Inv.-Nr. L 192a.

of the rectangular saddle flaps is a simple border of applied vellum with silver embroidery depicting large carnation-like flowers in the corners. The original girth is woven in coloured fibres.

This saddle was accompanied by a pair of solid silver Ottoman box stirrups⁴⁰ (fig. 7). Each of these consists of an almost rectangular, slightly domed footplate and curved trapezoid side plates. The attached bridge forms a rib on either side of the stirrup and extends under the footplate, with both of the ends being drawn to a point. On the upper edges of the side plates the bridge is attached to a large loop for the stirrup strap. The strap itself consists of twelve plaited silk braids which are coloured blue (until 1720 red) and which are sewn tightly together with brown leather at the top. In the area around the loop the braids have thin leather strips wound around them. On each side plate of the stirrups, a small rosette is carved on either side of the bridge. Around the outer edge of the side plates is a narrow engraved strip decorated with simple hatching. On the horizontal part of the bridge there is a test mark. One of the side plates and the loop on the horizontal part of the bridge are stamped with the *tughra* of Sultan Ahmed III (1703–1730).

The bridle⁴¹ (fig. 8) consists of leather straps covered with decorative overlapping silver gilt mounts. The martingale has a hexagonal boss with a central rosette and floral motifs between stylized cypresses. The individual segments are decorated with smooth stripes that merge into pointed leaves, edging stripes with parallel small rosettes, and a background of arabesques. The head and neck pieces of the headstall, which has the same form of decoration, are joined together by 15 chains. The brow band has 49 oval pendants. The neck piece has a chain that functions as a throat latch. To complete the bridle there is a snaffle bit and a nose-band made of a chain with reins woven in red and silver thread. On the chest rosette and on the ferrules at the ends of the straps there are test marks and the name Ahmed with three dots framed in the fashion of a *tughra*. Although this may be assumed to refer to Ahmed III, the form of the inscription makes it doubtful as to whether the bridle is of Ottoman or Tatar workmanship.

The second saddle⁴² (fig. 9, 10) is most probably the work of a Tatar craftsman. The wooden tree is covered with brown leather, which is decorated with embossed ornaments. The pommel and cantle as well as the ends of the skirt are made of wood and are decorated with flat brass mounts. The elegantly simple stirrups have round footplates. This saddle is accompanied by a pair of leather saddle flaps (fig. 11) bearing colourful painted décor. The main colours are gold, red, green and black and the décor consists of semicircular segments at the edges and a figure in the shape of an hourglass in the middle along with depictions of the tree of life and flowers.

40 Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Rüstkammer, Inv.-Nr. L 316.

41 Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Rüstkammer, Inv.-Nr. L 138.

42 Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Rüstkammer, Inv.-Nr. L 50.

The sabre⁴³ (fig. 12) has a slightly curved blade that is double-edged at the tip. It has two grooves along the edge of the blade as well as two stamped crescent-shaped marks. The short silver cross-guard is engraved and gilt and decorated with highly stylized arabesques, some of which are nielloed. The quillons are rolled inwards towards the blade and end in rosettes. The carabelle-type hilt is carved from dark-brown wood and decorated with a herringbone pattern. The numerous rivet heads and the band around the hilt are silver gilt. The wooden scabbard is covered with red velvet. The mount on the scabbard mouth, the chape and the two mid lockets incorporating suspension rings are of silver gilt with chased and engraved highly stylized floral motifs, some of which are nielloed, as well as rough hatching in some areas. Wrapped around the scabbard is a cord made of red plaited silk.

As King of Poland, August the Strong was not only an adversary and neighbour of the Tatars; there were also Tatar elements among the population he governed. There had long been close contacts between Poles and Tatars. In the Battle of Grunwald in 1410 Tatars had fought alongside Poles against the Teutonic Knights. After that, Tatars were deployed as military auxiliary troops by Lithuanian princes and Polish kings. In the late 16th century, for example, King Stephan Báthory (1576–1586) had a large number of Tatar auxiliary troops under his command. In the mid-17th century there were Tatar settlements in Polesia, Volhynia, Podolia, and Courland as far north as Vilnius. In the battle to relieve Vienna on 12th September 1683, Tatars fought both on the side of the besieging Ottoman forces and among the relief troops under the command of King Jan III Sobieski (1674–1696). During the Great Northern War and the internal conflicts in connection with the Polish succession, some of the Tatars supported Stanislas Leszcynski, whom Charles XII of Sweden had nominated King of Poland, whereas others were allies of August the Strong. In the autumn of 1713 there was an uprising in Poland against August the Strong and, in particular, against the stationing of Saxon troops in Poland. Saxon soldiers under the command of *Generalfeldmarschall* (field marshal) Jacob Heinrich Graf von Flemming confronted the Polish rebels. Although a peace treaty was signed in Lemberg on 24th January 1716, some of the Polish nobility refused to ratify it and so the conflict continued until November 1716. During this period Flemming had a Tatar escort that paid him loyal service in the conflict with the rebellious Polish nobility.⁴⁴ The Tatars under Flemming's command won particular respect on account of the staunchness they demonstrated in a skirmish on 8th February 1716. This incident is described in Flemming's biography as follows:

43 Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Rüstkammer, Inv.-Nr. Y 94.

44 *Leben und Thaten Des Weltberühmten Königl. Pohln. und Churfürstl. Sächsischen Obersten Staats-Ministers und General-Feld-Marschalls Jacob Heinrichs Des heil. Röm. Reichs Grafens von Flemming / Nebst einiger Nachricht Von Denen beyden ungleicher Zeit verstorbenen Grafen von Vitzthum Und von Watzdorff, Königl. Pohln. und Churfürstl. Sächs. Staats- und Cabinets-Ministris; Aus allerhand bewährten Nachrichten zusammen getragen und mit einem Register versehen von M.R.; Naumburg und Zeitz, Verlegt Michael Gottlieb Griebbach, Buchhändler 1731.*

„Alleine 2. Meilen von Petrikau, zu Wolbiretz, überfiel der Feind dennoch den Feld-Marschall, wie er die Pferde füttern ließ: er fand aber noch Zeit, sich in Gesellschaft des Herrn Ribinsky, Weywodens von Culm und des General Goltzens nach Petrikau zu retiriren, da inzwischen die Tartarn, so er zur Escorte bey sich hatte, sich als brave Leute fast eine Stunde lang mit den Confoederirten herum schlugen, endlich aber der Menge weichen musten, nachdem zwey von ihnen gefangen und 17. getödtet worden.“⁴⁵

A few months after the end of the Polish uprising, on 18th May 1718, August the Strong received a “Tatar-Kirgiz sabre”⁴⁶ with a scabbard (fig. 13) as a gift from the Polish Prince Radziwill. The Radziwills were one of the most prominent families in Lithuania and were among the magnates who had permitted Tatars to settle on their land. It was presumably Karol I Stanislaw Radziwill (1669–1719) who sent the sabre to August the Strong. He was Grand Chancellor of Lithuania. The unusually long blade is strongly curved and extends into an elongated thickened tip. In the immediate vicinity of the tip the single-edged blade becomes double-edged. Parallel to the back of the blade are three grooves of varying length, the outer one decorated with gold inlay. The entire surface at the top of the blade is inlaid with gold: the décor consists of rhomboids filled with various ornaments and spiralling arabesques. The short cross guard and pommel cap are silver gilt. Both are engraved with arabesques. The hilt is made of greyish-white shark or ray skin with five simple decorative rivets. The wooden scabbard is also covered with greyish-white shark or ray skin on the visible side. On the inside is birch bark. The chape and the two mid lockets with suspension rings are silver gilt. The mid lockets are punched and are relatively sparsely decorated with engraved arabesques. The much more sumptuously decorated chape matches the décor of the pommel cap and cross guard. The narrow belt that goes with it is made of green silk braiding with silver thread.

In the following years the diplomatic contacts between Saxony-Poland and the Ottomans and Tatars continued. Visits by several Tatar legations are evident from the inventories of the Dresden Armoury, although neither their precise background nor any details of events connected with them have been investigated. It must therefore suffice here to discuss only the gifts brought by the envoys. It must be regarded as highly probable that the gifts presented by the respective legations consisted of more than the few surviving items. On the basis of experience we may assume that the “standard gift” from Tatar envoys consisted of an Oriental horse with luxurious horse trappings along with matching weapons and equipment. Detailed research will be needed to establish whether the inventory entries can help identify other objects that, although they have not survived, are at least described in the inventories.

During his third term of office the Khan of the Tatars Qaplan Giray I (1730–1736) sent a legation to Warsaw, along with gifts for August the Strong which were

45 *Leben und Thaten ...* 1731, cf. footnote 44, p. 69.

46 Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Rüstkammer, Inv.-Nr. Y 67.

presented to him in 1732. Of the gifts described in the inventory – a quiver made of yellow morocco leather embroidered with silver thread along with 18 arrows and one knife – only one item has been identified in the collections of the Dresden Armoury. This is the Tatar knife with scabbard and belt (fig. 14).⁴⁷ The short straight single-edged blade bears a stamped mark which so far could not be deciphered. The smooth ivory handle has a rounded end with a silver rivet head in it. The straight wooden scabbard, enclosing almost the whole of the knife, is covered with black shagreen. Wrapped around the upper end is a broad, salmon-coloured silk belt with interwoven gold thread. The fate of the quiver and arrows is unknown. Whilst they were still included in the 1783 and 1821 *Türkenkammer* inventories, there is no longer any trace of them in the inventory of the Turkish tent drawn up in 1838.

Evidence of another Tatar legation, this time to the court of the son of August the Strong, Elector Friedrich August II of Saxony and King August III of Poland (1733–1763), are to be found in the 1821 inventory of the *Gute Sattelkammer* (Good Saddle Chamber). In September 1744, the King of Poland received the envoy of the Khan of the Tatars, Selim Giray II (1743–1748). The only surviving gift from the Khan is a saddle with leather saddle flaps that are painted in various colours.⁴⁸ The side flaps and seat of the buck saddle with a wooden tree are covered with reddish-brown leather. The skirt, pommel and cantle are covered with black shagreen. The mounts, partly decorated with openwork, are made of gilt brass. The saddle has Ottoman-style box stirrups and attached leather saddle flaps. Its décor, in which the dominant colours are gold, black, red and green, consists of four long areas with pointed arches at the ends and painted flowers, as well as various circle and arch ornaments. On the inside are written in black the Arabic letter “thā” and the number 13. The significance of these symbols is unknown.

Only six years later, King August III of Poland received another similar gift. On 28th July 1750, he granted an audience to the emissary of the Khan of the Tatars in Warsaw. On this occasion the envoy brought with him a gift from the Khan consisting of two saddles with stirrups and bridles, reportedly of Polish origin. Whether this gift was also accompanied by horses is unfortunately unknown. Precisely where the saddles were manufactured is also impossible to determine. However, they correspond to the Tatar-Caucasian type. The fact that one of the saddles⁴⁹ (fig. 15) was described in the inventory as an “old Turkish, so-called Courland saddle”⁵⁰ would seem to indicate that it may have been the work of a Tatar craftsman on Polish-administered territory. The wooden tree is covered with leather. Whilst the

47 Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Rüstkammer, Inv.-Nr. Y 135; Inventar der Türkenkammer von 1716, fol. 159, Nr. 422.

48 Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Rüstkammer, Inv.-Nr. L 51.

49 Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Rüstkammer, Inv.-Nr. L 626; Holger Schuckelt, Reitzzeuge und Reitzubehör der Osmanen in der Dresdner Rüstkammer, in: *Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen Dresden*, vol. 29/2001, Dresden 2004, pp. 15–30, p. 30, figs. 33 and 34.

50 Inventar der Sattelkammer von 1785, p. 160, Nr. 403.

seat is covered with brocade decorated with stripes and floral motifs, the pommel and cantle and the ends of the skirt have mounts made of gilt silver plate with décor consisting of chased and engraved medallions and stylized floral motifs, filled with lattice work made up of small rosettes (fig. 16). During the recent restoration of this saddle, removal of the metal mounts revealed older gilt décor underneath which is reminiscent of the inventory descriptions of Tatar saddles that are no longer extant (cf. footnote 17). The metal mounts, which were added at a later date when the saddle was reworked, to a certain extent imitate the older gilt décor (fig. 17). The saddle flaps made of reddish-brown morocco leather are embroidered with arabesques and floral motifs made of partially gilt silver wire. The saddle has a pair of brass gilt stirrups⁵¹ with round foot plates and oval bridges that narrow towards the top (fig. 18). Around the edges of the foot plates and on the lower part of the bridge are soldered silver mounts in the form of rosettes with inlaid turquoises and rubies, some of which are missing.

The second saddle⁵² is similar in form but is covered with red velvet. The pommel, cantle and the ends of the skirt are completely covered with silver plate, engraved, partially gilt and nielloed (fig. 19). The technique and décor of these mounts indicate that this saddle, too, is probably of Tatar rather than Polish workmanship. This saddle has a pair of leather saddle flaps (fig. 20) which are painted in various colours. Their décor is executed mainly in black, red and gold and consists of a rectangular central panel with two pointed medallions as well as one broad and one narrow border. The broad border contains ten small rosettes with medallions positioned between them. On the inside of the flaps are the Arabic numbers “2” and “1”. These saddle flaps were expressly mentioned for the first time in the 1838 inventory of the *Sattelzimmer* (Saddle Room), which does not necessarily mean, however, that they might not have already belonged to the saddle before that date.

Two decades later, the Khanate of the Crimean Tatars lost its relative independence. In 1771 it was again occupied by the Russians. In the Peace of Küçük Kaynarca (now in North-eastern Bulgaria) signed on July 21, 1774, Sultan Abdülhamid I (1774–1789) was compelled to grant the Khanate “independence”. After only nine years, the Crimea was turned into a Russian province. Direct relations between Saxony and the Crimean Tatars came to an end.⁵³

51 Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Rüstkammer, Inv.-Nr. L 279; Schuckelt 2004, cf. footnote 49, p. 27, fig. 23.

52 Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Rüstkammer, Inv.-Nr. L 39; *Pod jedna korona – kultura i sztuka w czasach unii polsko-saskiej. Exhibition catalogue*, Warszawa 1997, p. 303, cat. no. IX 25.

53 Finally, I should like to thank my wife, Geraldine L. Schuckelt, for translating the original German manuscript and for her forbearance in helping me revise and improve it.

The Painter Wilhelm Kiewewetter in the Crimea (1845–1847)

Elisabeth Tietmeyer

Introduction¹

The comprehensive cultural-historical and ethnographic stock of the Museum of European Cultures (Berlin) includes a collection of 163 oil paintings as well as twelve models of houses and settlements by the painter Wilhelm Kiewewetter (fig. 1). The works depict foreign life-worlds which the artist explored during his 14-year journey through various parts of Russia and Scandinavia, and which he wished to convey – with the help of his publications – to both his contemporaries and to posterity. He did this with great dedication, exceptional empathy, and a truly ethnological approach, although anthropology/ethnology had not yet been established as a discipline at the time. Therefore it is absolutely justified to denote the painter as an “ethnological avantgardist”.

Kiewewetter was born in Berlin in 1811. He received his training as a painter from Carl Röthig, who directed his own drawing school in the Royal Botanical Garden in Berlin from 1821 until 1843. Between 1830 and 1838, Kiewewetter participated in four exhibitions at the Berlin Academy of Fine Arts.² However, owing to the fact that these presentations were not a financial success, he decided to travel to foreign countries in 1838. In his book he comments on his painting “The wedding couple in financial trouble”: “The wedding couple [...] was completed; and when it was sufficiently dry and covered with oil, because I had painted it in oil colours on canvas, I struggled to find a rich collector, inclined to reward the great pains I had taken over this painting. The financial problems which I had visually depicted, however, also seemed to exist in my real surrounding; I could not find a buyer for my wedding couple, and in order to profit from it to some extent, I presented it to my bride as a warning sign. She was always in financial trouble, so that it was not difficult for her to learn a useful lesson from the painting, and since my limited means did not suffice to put an end to her financial difficulties, we shook hands and bade farewell.”³ Thus Kiewewetter left his lover; but he was also driven by

1 This article is based on a paper I read on the occasion of a symposium organized by the Goethe-Institut Kiev in Bakhchisaray, Crimea, on 14 May 2005.

2 Börsch-Supan 1971: Catalogue 1830: No. 309; 1834: No. 352; 1836: No. 453–456; 1838: No. 1320, 1321.

3 Kiewewetter 1854b, pp. 1–2.

the thirst for adventure and the longing “to make extraordinary discoveries in the field of art”.⁴

His first journey through Sweden, Finland, Russia, and the territories on the shores of the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea took eleven years. During this period Kiewewetter produced 500 paintings, many of them sold as commissioned works in order to finance his journey. He kept a considerable number of paintings to present them in exhibitions and comment on them in his lectures, as, for example, in his native city Berlin in 1850.⁵

In 1850 Kiewewetter set off on his second journey, which again took him to Scandinavia. There he repeatedly presented his touring exhibition, particularly in Sweden, and published a catalogue in Swedish.⁶ In addition, he produced further paintings, especially of the Sami, who lived in Sweden and Norway. In 1853 Kiewewetter finally returned to Germany, where he presented his exhibition in different cities. In 1854 he published stories taken from his travel diary.⁷

Kiewewetter’s paintings cover a variety of motifs. He painted his experiences with and his observations of the natives in extraordinary detail. The paintings depict scenes taken from the daily lives of the people or from festivities, views of towns and villages, houses, palaces, monasteries, monks in prayer, churches, and interiors. Generally speaking, the paintings convey an insight into the former life-worlds of the Russians, Kalmyks, Kazakhs, Crimean Tatars, Crimean gypsies, Georgians, Ossetes, Persians, and the Zoroastrian priests, who had originally come from India and lived on the Apsheron Peninsula, which now belongs to Azerbaijan. Furthermore, Kiewewetter painted scenes taken from the life-worlds of the Armenians, Kurds, the inhabitants of Dalarnas (central Sweden), and the Sami, already mentioned above. In addition, he worked as an artisan, building wooden models of houses, palaces, tents, churches, and settlements, finished off with a coat of painting. These models are extraordinary and constitute a perfect, vivid addition to his paintings. The largest and most impressive model is the khan’s palace in Bakhchisaray, the former capital of the Crimea (fig. 2, 3). The models also include a Tatar coffee-house and a district of the village Hurzuf (Gursuf) on the southern Crimean coast. Besides these three models, which represent typical Crimean buildings of the time, 33 of Kiewewetter’s oil paintings of the Crimean Tatars and eleven of the Crimean gypsies have been preserved in the Museum of European Cultures.

The Crimea and its inhabitants from Kiewewetter’s point of view

“How pleasantly do the nights go by in small coastal villages! Every hut breathes peace and joy, immersed in the perfume of the cool flower gardens. Sweet is the peace and quiet of the carefree followers of Mohamed between the impenetrable

4 *Ibid.*, p. 2.

5 *Ibid.*, pp. 4–5.

6 Compare Kiewewetter 1850.

7 Kiewewetter 1854 a and b.

pergolas in the harem, where the deep secret of love is hidden, accompanied by the soft whispers of the stream rushing past and the songs of the nightingale.”⁸ This is how Kieseewetter describes the southern coast of the Crimea. Of his extensive journeys, so he holds, the two years (1845–1847) on this peninsula were the most impressive and the most pleasant. During this period he spent most of his time in the towns Simferopol and Bakhchisaray as well as in Sudak, Hurzuf, Yalta, Alushta, and Sevastopol on the southern coast. He adapted himself to the Tatar community to such an extent and was so well-known that the Tatars gave him the name “Abdullah” with the title “Ağa” and considered him as one of their own. This trust, among other things, explains why he was allowed to paint them, despite the fact that they were Muslims.⁹ In his published diary Kieseewetter describes his observations among the Crimean Tatars in five essays. In his first essay on the inhabitants of the Crimea under the title “Tatar wedding festivities ...” he outlines the life of the Crimean Tatars and describes a wedding ceremony in great detail, including “gypsy” music and his own role.¹⁰ He captured parts of the ceremony in several paintings, which remain partly obscure without the detailed descriptions in his diary. To give an example: “The bridal jewellery is paraded through the town and its arrival is announced by two adolescents with noisy shawms. Some Tatars expose the jewellery to all sides, dancing and jumping around, followed by the bandmaster in his long caftan and red sash, adorned with a wooden sabre. His head is covered with a pointed cap, with colourful paper decoration and golden foam; equipped with a baton he encourages and directs the enthusiasm of the music band behind him”¹¹ (fig. 4). In his second essay under the title “The bazaar and the harem in Bakhchisaray ...” Kieseewetter provides an introductory description of the capital of the khanate and the bazaar district with its many different artisans and coffee-houses (fig. 5). Every now and then he comments on the mentality of the Crimean Tatars: “The coffee-house and a harem are the essential goal of a Tatar’s activities and ambitions in this world. A harem with perpetual virgins and constant joy, as a reward for his pious life, is what he expects to find in Heaven.”¹² Kieseewetter repeatedly describes his own role in the Tatar community and his personal experiences with the people, who eventually trusted him so much that they regarded him as a member of the family. This also explains why he was able to paint non-veiled women¹³ (fig. 6). Kieseewetter’s third essay deals with the “Palace of the last Tatar khans in Bakhchisaray”. He both explained and painted its interiors in great detail: “The burial place of the majority of the khans and their families is a subterranean chamber beneath two mausoleums. The interior of these buildings is octagonal, with

8 Kieseewetter 1854b, p. 100.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 68.

10 *Ibid.*, pp. 63–76.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 65.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 79.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 86.

a dome, and contains several different wooden and stone statues, wearing turbans or pointed hats, depending on the gender of the deceased”¹⁴ (fig. 7). Nine oil paintings and the aforementioned model of the palace have been preserved in the Museum of European Cultures. Today, they are used in the reconstruction of former palace quarters by Crimean Tatar and Russian archaeologists in Bakhchisaray.

In his last two essays, Kiesewetter returns to his main interest, the daily life of the people he visited. The texts include a detailed description of a “Tatar village school...”, and there is a painting of a school scene: “[The teacher] is seated on a rock, surrounded by the children who are squatting on the ground; he examines the progress they have made, punishes the unteachable and the inattentive”¹⁵ (fig. 8). The lives of the people can only be understood in the context of their surrounding, which Kiesewetter deals with in detail in his chapter “The Tatars on the southern Crimean coast”. He spent most of his time in the village Hurzuf in order to complete his model and several paintings. For example, he describes the typical method of construction on the southern coast and how the houses are used by the inhabitants: “After surviving the heat of the day the inhabitants leave their cool chambers to climb on the roofs, where even the men indulge in conversations and smoke their pipes, amidst their dancing children and their wives who are busy spinning; they await the sunset, perform the last prayer of the day and later enjoy the peace and quiet of the harem”.¹⁶

Kiesewetter’s works discovered twice over

In 1868 the former Royal Prussian Museums (now National Museums in Berlin) received a veritable treasure from Kiesewetter’s lifework: 176 oil paintings as well as twelve wooden models of houses and settlements according to official records. While the models immediately found their way into the Ethnological Collection, which later became the Museum of Ethnology, the oil paintings were exhibited in various Royal Prussian Art Museums. Owing to their ethnographic motifs they were eventually also transferred to the Museum of Ethnology in 1910, where they were assigned to the respective regional sections.¹⁷ As a consequence the paintings were no longer regarded as the complete works of an artist, but merely as illustrations and documentations of foreign life-worlds. It is to be assumed that 14 paintings and two models were lost in the course of evacuating the objects during the Second World War.¹⁸

For a period of more than 80 years the paintings and models remained more or less undiscovered in the stockrooms of the respective regional sections of the

14 *Ibid.*, p. 89.

15 *Ibid.*, pp. 97–98.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 100.

17 See Gen. 26, vol. II, in: Archive of the SMPK, ZA. See also I B Asia, vol. 60, E 1981/10, in: Archive SMPK, MV.

18 In 2007, the Museum of European Cultures had the good fortune to buy another oil painting by Kiesewetter with the motif of a musician in the Crimea.

museum. Hence, no individual worth was attributed to them. They received little attention until employees of the former European Section of the Museum of Ethnology rediscovered them, because most of Kieseewetter's paintings have European motifs. For this reason the Museum of Ethnology decided to transfer the entire collection, including the paintings and models with non-European motifs, to the European Section. By virtue of this reassembly Kieseewetter's paintings and models regained their original status. They were no longer merely considered as illustrations of foreign cultures, but rather regarded as the complete works of an artist and as contemporary documents in their due context.

In 1999, when the European Section of the Museum of Ethnology and the former Museum of (German) Folklore merged into the Museum of European Cultures, Kieseewetter's works also became part of the collection of this new institution. At the inaugural exhibition of the Museum of European Cultures in 1999, which lasted until 2005, a selection of Wilhelm Kieseewetter's works was presented to the public for the first time after approximately 130 years.¹⁹

The response of the visitors to this unusual painter was noteworthy: Many members of ethnic minorities in Europe, whose ancestors had been visited and painted by Kieseewetter, attended the exhibition, including Kalmyks from Russia, Sami from Scandinavia and Russia, Armenians, and particularly Crimean Tatars. They were above all interested in those paintings and models concerning their own culture, in order to obtain an impression of the cultural past of their ancestors. They will have been aware of the fact that Kieseewetter took advantage of his artistic freedom, but his works in combination with the descriptions in his publications definitely helped the minorities in question to determine their identity. So far the most outstanding event was a project with the Crimean Tatars, initiated and financially supported by the Goethe Institute in Kiev. The organizers received very faithful digital copies of the paintings and models which Kieseewetter completed during his stay in the Crimea. In May 2005, the latter were presented to the Crimean Cultural Ministry by the Goethe Institute and the Museum of European Cultures on the occasion of a symposium on the Crimean minorities, with the objective of exhibiting them in different Ukrainian museums. Later they are to be exhibited on a permanent basis in the Museum of the History and Culture of the Crimean Tatars. Furthermore, the former head of the Institute, Barbara Kaulbach, and I published a German-Russian supplementary volume with illustrations of all the paintings and models, not only of the Crimean Tatars, but also of the Crimean gypsies, who received as much attention in Kieseewetter's observations and descriptions as the Tatars. In addition to an introductory article on Kieseewetter, all the illustrations are accompanied by relevant original comments taken from his writings, and his five aforementioned essays on the Crimea have been translated into Russian.²⁰

19 Museum Europäischer Kulturen (SMPK) 1999, pp. 173–189.

20 Kaulbach/Tietmeyer 2005.

Kiesewetter and ethnology

During the 19th century it was not unusual for European artists to travel to remote countries. On the contrary, the increased desire to travel was a consequence of the Age of Enlightenment, which resulted in a focus on the scientific analysis of the human being. The growing criticism of one's own society found expression, for example, in Jean-Jacques Rousseau's perception of man as the "noble savage" that needed to be examined.²¹

The need for a comprehensive understanding of mankind, including foreign cultures, began to develop, *i.e.*, the desire to obtain objective information on foreign countries and their inhabitants, instead of indulging in speculations. This was only possible through the collection of data in the regions in question, the compilation of travel reports, descriptions of cultures, drawings of people, or also of landscapes and plants in the case of botanical investigations. Professional academic painters were in charge of the production of such realistic illustrations, given that photography had, as yet, not developed to any great extent. As participants in research expeditions these painters and illustrators were expected to provide objective reports through the faithful reproduction of what was seen and experienced.²²

Apart from these artists with a scientific-journalistic interest, there were also others who travelled to foreign countries in search of inspiration. Kiesewetter was one of them, but in the course of his journey he increasingly developed an interest in the culture of the people he visited. He attached less importance to the artistic mastery of the paintings; rather he regarded painting as a means to achieve his purpose: "[I explained to the khan of the Kazakhs], that I had originally been a disciple of the art, which according to the old and new masters predominantly focuses on the realm of the imagination. On stone and in colourful paintings they show the people what the inhabitants of Paradise, in the Greek and in the Christian Heaven, in Hell and in the old and new world were probably like, or what they might be like in future, in accordance with human terms and with the rules of the philosophy of art. I, however, have slightly deviated from these teachings. I depict characters, customs and habits in all parts of the world, be they attractive or ugly, exactly as they present themselves and as they really are, with the objective of enabling people to discover their mutual virtues and shortcomings in these paintings."²³

Kiesewetter combined his artistic skills with the aim of capturing foreign realities in order to convey them to other people. In this sense he attempted "to provide the general public with a visual impression of different facial features, the customs and habits of various, less well-known and less cultured peoples; [this] induced me to study them on my journeys over several years and to faithfully capture them by painting them on site."²⁴

21 Cf. Girtler 1979, pp. 16–19.

22 Cf. Kramer 1977, p. 97.

23 Kiesewetter 1854b, pp. 52–53.

24 Kiesewetter 1854a, p. 3.

In order to increase his understanding of the people he visited as well as their way of life, Kieseewetter learned a number of native languages, or, alternatively, he worked with interpreters. He usually lived in families and participated in their daily life. Sometimes he dressed like the natives in order not to attract attention as a foreigner. Regarding his stay in the Crimea he wrote: "Now I had studied the customs and habits of these less cultured peoples in such depth and had become so primitive myself that I could wear Tatar clothing without embarrassment and mix with the natives; this provided me with the opportunity to paint several family scenes and the interior of a harem for my ethnographic collection."²⁵ In addition to his artistic works, Kieseewetter conducted interviews with people concerning things he had not personally observed. For an even better understanding he studied the history and the social situation of the peoples he visited.²⁶ Hence, he adapted himself to the culture of his hosts to a certain degree, despite the fact that he always remained an outsider, because without this distance he would not have been able to obtain the results that have come down to us.

Kieseewetter recorded, outlined and painted much of what he observed, experienced and learned, or he reproduced it in his models. Thus, in the course of his journeys, he did not produce art for art's sake, but rather considered himself as someone who studies and describes unknown peoples, *i.e.*, as an "ethnographer". Of course, he wanted to make his paintings known to the public and hoped that his exhibitions would be well received. His objective was, so he held, "[to depict] a variety of peoples in order to lay the foundations for a museum of mankind, [...] because what [can] be more interesting than to obtain an impression of the manifold peoples inhabiting this world along with us?"²⁷ In conveying his knowledge Kieseewetter thus had a genuine ethnological objective with a silent hope: "My collection is to provide the different peoples with the opportunity to get to know one another; once they have made each other's acquaintance, they will learn to love each other, and once they begin to understand each other, they will, at last, get to know themselves, which will be to their own benefit."²⁸

"Self-knowledge through the knowledge of others" is one of the leitmotifs of ethnology, which is the science of culture and human life-worlds. The exploration and presentation of foreign cultures always takes place through comparison with one's own culture, which invariably leads to an ethnocentric viewpoint. However, if the knowledge of other cultures enables us to think about our own culture, the latter ceases to be the exclusive point of reference. This inevitably leads to the conclusion that various parallel cultures have always existed that, however different they may have been, are equal in value. This is exactly what ethnology intends to convey to the public, be it in universities or in museums. Kieseewetter already had this

25 Kieseewetter 1854b, p. 11.

26 Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 133–135, 210–211.

27 Kieseewetter 1854b, p. 137.

28 *Ibid.*, p. 18.

objective, although ethnology as a discipline was still to be established. With his paintings he was able to convey his knowledge vividly, with the aim of inducing respect for other cultures. 150 years later the Museum of European Cultures exhibits Kieseewetter's paintings, models and publications with the same aim, because the need for international understanding and mutual respect continues to exist. Wilhelm Kieseewetter's works are more valuable than ever before, because the life-worlds that he captured as a contemporary no longer exist!

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The Muslim Newspaper *Perevodchik/Terjüman* (1883–1918) and the Art of Printing

Victor Yu. Gankevich

While thoroughly investigating the questions of Crimean Tatar culture at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, one has to give special attention to such a unique phenomenon of Muslim and Turkic culture as the publishing house of the *Perevodchik/Terjüman* newspaper. It was working for almost 35 years – from April 10, 1883, till February 23, 1918. Its story is closely connected with the name of the outstanding Turkic-Muslim representative of enlightenment and humanist, Ismail Bei Gasprinskii (1851–1914), who was the editor and publisher of the bilingual Russian-Tatar newspaper *Perevodchik/Terjüman* from the day it was founded to its end. Being an editor who cared not only about content but also about the form of the newspaper, he tried to make use of all the available progressive achievements in the field of printing, such as illustrations, photography, etc.

The printing art of the publishing house is of special interest here. Such an exceptional phenomenon in the Muslim culture of the Russian Empire at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century as *Perevodchik/Terjüman* generated great attention. For a long time it remained the only newspaper in a Turkic language in the Russian Empire, and it was the oldest Muslim edition by the beginning of the 20th century,

The personal position of Gasprinskii in this publication seems to have been very important. Because fine art is closely connected to printing and the press, they were of special importance to the editor. Gasprinskii's aim was to reach a compromise. At the first stage of the development of the newspaper, Gasprinskii did not content himself with illustrating the advertisements for goods and services, gradually training the readers in the idea that drawings are a necessary part of a newspaper. That is why at the end of the 19th century, when it was indispensable and possible to present illustrations in a Muslim publication, Gasprinskii wrote an article under the headline "The importance of drawing", dedicated to that subject in the Russian and Muslim world. For the reformed and modernized Islam at the end of the 19th and early 20th century, this was one of the major issues, which could become one of the ways to struggle with medieval scholasticism and clericalism.

Gasprinskii cared about the printing quality of his publishing house. Not only the content but also the form of the newspaper was very important to him. Wherever possible, he used ornamentation, played with fonts, changed logos. Gradually, he gained valuable experience in the design of the publication. The unusual logos of the

newspaper *Perevodchik/Terjüman* served this purpose. They were changed several times (for examples, see fig. 1, 2).

Gasprinskii understood the importance of illustrated material for his newspaper and made an attempt to get the permission of the Central Administrative Board of Press Affairs at the Ministry of the Interior (St. Petersburg) to change the appearance and concept of the newspaper. The CABPA compromised rather reluctantly. But on February 5, 1890, the CABPA permitted the editor to put pictures and drawings in between the texts of his newspaper and its supplements to illustrate the respective articles. Gasprinskii tried to explain the urgency of the matter and wrote in the *Perevodchik/Terjüman*: “We endeavour, as far as possible, to improve and extend our publication and we shall use the given permit to introduce useful instruments and materials to our readers for better coverage of the articles and messages of the paper.”

In due time, drawings started to appear in the journal *Perevodchik/Terjüman*. Gasprinskii tried to follow the rule “from the simple to the complicated” and took care not to shock orthodox Muslims. For this reason, he first endeavoured to reprint mainly pictures of towns and inanimate objects. During 1891, one could find in the newspaper some views of towns, well-known by their Muslim monuments, like Astrakhan, Herat, and parts of the Alhambra. In that year, such drawings of monuments of architecture, famous in the Muslim world, included a picture of the mosque Hagia Sofia in Istanbul; the Russian caption of the *Terjüman* said “St. Sofia’s church in Constantinople”. A small picture of a volcano was printed there, too.

Next year, views of the town of Bucharest, of the Acropolis in Athens, a monument of world culture, and of the Nevskii Prospect at the Gostinnyi Dvor’ (old centre of merchants) in St. Petersburg were published. The picture of a lighthouse appeared in the same supplement. One of the supplements contained the illustration of a “flying apparatus” and, as an illustration of the necessity of forestry, some pictures showing the growth of trees at 1,5 and 9 years of age were published as well.

In his aim to perfect the art of lithography in his publishing house, Ismail B. Gasprinskii had to attract some Crimean specialists for cooperation. Thus, by the 10th anniversary of the newspaper *Perevodchik/Terjüman* (fig. 3), “as a token of his sympathy, the chromolithographer Knyaz’kov promised to give proper instructions and lessons of chromolithography to some Tatars free of charge, according to the reference of the editorial staff”.

Some evidence shows the quality of the technique of lithography in the publishing house of *Perevodchik/Terjüman*. Thus, the member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, A. E. Krymskii, maintained that the most profitable work of the publishing house was the lithography of the Qur’an. The Qur’an was printed in small, middle, and large format. Its editions were bought, among others, by Egypt, India, and other Muslim countries. Facts given by L. I. Klimovich, a specialist on Islam in the Russian Empire, in one of his articles tell us about the competitiveness of those editions.

In a letter V. Klemin, an official of the Russian Imperial General Consulate in Bombay, dated October 18 (31), 1901, (№ 33), maintained that the editions of the Qur'an printed in Bakhchisarai could compete seriously even with the books of British publishing houses. V. Klemin wrote that, according to some inquiries, Muslims of Bombay, Peshawar, and Lahore "are afraid of eliciting the British authorities' displeasure by buying Russian books". Nevertheless, L. I. Klimovich, basing his assumptions on the statistical data of the period from 1901 to 1912, maintained that "the sale of Gasprinskii's editions, including the Qur'an of small, middle and large format, amounted to many thousands of copies annually". Accordingly, the publishing of theological literature can be associated with the high level of lithographic art at the publishing house of the newspaper *Perevodchik/Terjüman*.

Besides lithography, photography was also used in the publishing house of Gasprinskii. Especially the supplements to the newspaper sometimes carried photographs of a very good quality. For example, the group photos of the guests celebrating the 10th and the 20th anniversary of the newspaper *Perevodchik/Terjüman* are well known. Later, the photograph of the participants of the first inaugural meeting of the party *Ittifak el-Muslimin*, which took place in August 1905 on deck of the steamer "Gustav Struve", was published in the newspaper. There were some photographic portraits in the booklets published by the printing house of the newspaper. For example, the photographs of the Muslim sovereigns of some eastern states (the Turkish sultan, the Persian shah, the emir of Bukhara, etc. among them) were published in one of these brochures.

It was rather symbolic that one of the most enjoyable presents given to Gasprinskii on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of his editing work, which was celebrated on May 2, 1908, was an unusual and original photograph. This "symbolic" photo made by Knyaz'kov was the size of "one and a half *arshin*".¹ As the newspaper wrote, "the photo represents the Turkic headline of the newspaper «Terjüman» written not in ink, not in gold, but with live lines of children of all the local *mekteb* assembled in the form of a letter, and the groups of teachers are dots and marks of that letter". According to the evidence of the author of the jubilee article, the whole idea and the realization of this remarkable photo of groups of children "made a really delightful impression". We can take this as recognition of the great humanistic significance of all the activities of Ismail Bei Gasprinskii especially in the field of enlightenment, publishing, public education, and culture of the Turkic peoples in general.

From the number of brochures dedicated to enlightenment and information, the booklet *Beden-i insan* ("The human body"), that is "Anatomy", should be recognized, in our view, as the most interesting and well illustrated publication. Here we find pictures displaying the nervous system, the skeleton, the lungs, and other organs of the human body, as well as the functioning of the arm muscles.

1 *Arshin*: old Russian linear measure, 0,71 m.

The religious tolerance of the editor Gasprinskii, a Sunnite, towards the monuments of Shiite Muslim culture and political actors of Persia is noteworthy. Not only the humanism of the enlightener comes to the fore here, but also his desire to bring together the Muslims of different branches of Islam to form an integral whole, at least in the field of education and culture.

The booklet *Meshhur paitakhtlar* ("Famous capitals") is very informative in the illustrative sense. The views of European capitals – St. Petersburg, Istanbul, London, Paris, Vienna, Berlin, and Rome – can be found here. Telling about the capital of Russia, Gasprinskii represented the pictures of the Nevskii Prospect, the Winter Palace, the Anichkov and Marble Palaces, and the St. Isaak Cathedral. The capital of the Ottoman Empire, Istanbul, was illustrated with the picture of the Mosque of Mehmed the Conqueror and the Beylerbey Palace and a general view of the city. The British capital was illustrated by the House of Parliament. One of the bridges across the Seine and one of the numerous palaces represented Paris. The capital of the Austro-Hungarian Empire was described by means of the buildings of the Vienna Opera, the Vienna Theatre, and the Museum of Natural history. The German capital Gasprinskii illustrated with the pictures of the Reichstag, the Berlin State Bank, and the Chamber of Industry. The pictures of St. Peter's Basilica and the Caracalla Baths represented the "Eternal City" of Rome.

A symbolic fact tells us about the recognition of Ismail Bei Gasprinskii's great and indisputable authority in the field of Muslim printing and publishing activities at the beginning of the 20th century. The famous Kasan typographer Kharitonov created a new font named after Gasprinskii on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the newspaper *Perevodchik/Terjüman*. This shows us the place that Gasprinskii's publishing house occupied among similar, first of all, Muslim publishing houses in the Russian Empire.

Thus, we can confidently say that the publication of the newspaper *Perevodchik/Terjüman* by Gasprinskii was an outstanding contribution of Muslim culture at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. The Crimean Tatar advocate of enlightenment made use of the progressive achievements of printing art. At first, he limited himself to working out a professional, high-quality, and original presentation of the newspaper. Gradually, Ismail Bei Gasprinskii trained his readers to accept illustrations as a necessity and often used them in his periodicals and individual editions. In spite of the well-known limits Islam sets for pictures, he used graphical techniques of print (engraving) for the circulation of illustrations in his publications. Besides, he used lithography and, probably, chromolithography on a large scale. He also used photography in the supplements to the newspaper *Perevodchik/Terjüman*. That constituted an innovation in the Muslim printing houses of the Russian Empire.

All these facts make it possible to say that Ismail Bei Gasprinskii's publishing house was an interesting and striking phenomenon of Muslim culture at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century.

The Development of Crimean Tatar Fine Arts

Ismet Zaatov

Modern Crimean Tatar fine arts are a topic that deserves special analysis. The works of Crimean Tatar artists have not been studied well due to the fact that for more than a hundred years, the landmarks of Crimean Tatar history have been changing at a kaleidoscopic speed. The last and most terrible tragedy for the Crimean Tatar people was its deportation on May 18, 1944.¹ In its disastrous consequences, this expulsion of the Crimean Tatars from their native land can only be compared to the national catastrophe that occurred on April 8, 1783, when the Crimean Khanate was annexed to Russia and the Crimean Tatar people lost statehood.² The long-term discrimination of the people and the destruction and oblivion of the Crimean Tatar cultural achievements in the Soviet state led to irreparable losses of national culture, among others in the fine arts. The mass return of the Crimean Tatar people in the 1990s to their native land, the revival of cultural traditions, and the flourishing of modern art in the Crimea make the study of the works of Crimean Tatar artists even more relevant.

Crimean Tatar fine arts developed on the Crimean peninsula where the cultures of the sedentary peoples of the Mediterranean, Black Sea, the Balkans, and the Caucasus area had mixed with the culture of different nomadic tribes.³ Crimean Tatar art inherited the centuries-old cultural traditions of the ancient and medieval Crimea, which, in turn, had been influenced by the early Greek, Iranian, and Byzantine cultures, and the Islamic Cultures of the Seljuks, Golden Horde, and the Ottomans. Therefore today it has a special place in this region of South-eastern Europe, being a part of Turkic-Islamic culture in content and of European culture in form. It is the culture of a people that kept traces of all the afore-mentioned cultures in its genetic memory. Thanks to the synthesis of these cultures the Crimean Tatars managed to create a late medieval eclectic Crimean civilization of their own.⁴ Modern fine arts of the Crimean Tatars are a phenomenon undoubtedly influenced by West-European and Russian cultural traditions, but they have their own history and require thorough study. The study of the works of the Crimean Tatars is particularly important because for more than 50 years the Crimean Tatar people were deprived of the possibility to study their native culture and traditions of folk art. Since the return to the fatherland has become a reality, the revival of the national

1 Kırımlı 1996, p. 6.

2 Bekirova 2004, p. 12.

3 Vozgrin 1992, p. 4.

4 Zaatov 2003, p. 178.

cultural heritage and art is of particular importance, as it is connected with the problem of self-identification of the Crimean Tatar people in the modern world. Perception and analysis of the art process from the 19th to the beginning of the 21st century should help this people to regain the feeling of home.

Crimean Tatar fine arts between the end of the 19th and the early 21st centuries can be divided into three main stages that are directly connected with the political and national history of the people:

- Development of fine arts from 1895 to 1944 (from the first professional Crimean Tatar artists of the European school, who went to study at the academic centres of Russia and Western Europe, until the deportation);
- Fine arts in the diaspora (1944–1989), when the Crimean Tatar people were resettled forcibly in the northern regions of Russia, in Central Asia, and in Kazakhstan.
- The period of revival of Crimean Tatar fine arts in its historic homeland (from 1989 onwards) connected with the return of many Crimean Tatars to the Crimea, which still continues.⁵

Crimean Tatar fine arts from 1895 to 1944

Before the end of the 19th century, the fine arts of the Crimea – like those in other regions of the Islamic world – had been developing according to their own canons that did not include a realistic representation of the real world. Crimean Tatar fine arts of the period of the Crimean Khanate and in the first century after its annexation (1783) is represented, first of all, by monumental paintings, book miniatures, calligraphy, and highly artistic coloured graphic art of blazonry for the families of the Crimean Tatar nobility. Ornamental, floral, and geometric designs were predominant at that time. From the end of the 18th century, *i.e.*, since the conquest of the Crimean Khanate by Czarist Russia, and until the end of the 19th century, Crimean Tatar fine arts were on the decline due to the general historical and cultural situation on the peninsula and due to the policy pursued by the Czarist government with regard to local culture and the Crimean Tatar population. At the same time, the annexation accelerated the process, started already in the time of the Crimean khans, of introducing and developing new forms of art akin to European cultural traditions, in particular oil painting. Some representatives of the Crimean Tatar intelligentsia received their art education in Russia and abroad in Europe. However, the real breakthrough in this field came at the end of the 19th century, when leading artists from Russia started coming to the Crimea. In the 1840–1850s, representatives of German (W. Kiesewetter), French (D. A. Raffe), and Italian (C. Bossoli) art schools worked in the Crimea, often living among the Crimean Tatars for some time.⁶

5 Zaatov 2002, p. 172.

6 Zaatov 2003, p. 214.

The introduction of new ideas at the turn of the 19th/20th centuries led to considerable stimulation of the cultural life of the Crimean Tatar people and the development of a national theatre, cinematography, literature, fine arts, etc. This was not the first “encounter” of East and West in the culture of the Crimea⁷, but this time relations were of a different character. European influence consolidated itself, completely ignoring local, centuries-old traditions. This was especially the case after the Bolshevik regime had been established on the peninsula: the revolutionary art of Soviet Russia completely rejected the Muslim cultural heritage of the Crimea.

The American historians A. Fisher and E. Lazzerini who studied Crimean Tatar history called the 1920s the *Golden Age* of Crimean Tatar art or the Crimean Tatar renaissance. There is some truth in this, but it should be specified. The cultural renaissance lasted only five years (1923–1927). In January 1928, the first wave of mass repression against the Crimean Tatar intelligentsia started.⁸

The development of Crimean Tatar culture in this period was difficult and contradictory. On the one hand, there was a certain progress, but on the other hand, a latent destruction of its national foundations took place. At the beginning of the 20th century, Crimean Tatar national traditions were still preserved, but during the years of Soviet power, when the national culture had to undergo “internationalist” levelling, the originality of the traditional cultural background of the Crimea was almost completely destroyed. A part of the traditional artistic heritage (some types of handicrafts, architecture, book miniature, and monumental painting) was lost. At the same time, conditions were created to develop forms of art quite new to the Crimean Tatar people: oil painting, graphic art, and sculpture. These trends, progressive in themselves, were mostly connected with the political and social situation. While the policy of the Czarist government had aimed at the oppression of remote national areas, Soviet power countered this with a policy of measured, centrally-coordinated national self-identification, limited freedom, and exaggerated “brotherhood” with the elder brother, Russia. The revolutionary changes in Russia provoked national liberation movements in many remote regions, not only in the Crimea.

Soviet power which replaced Czarist autocracy was received coolly by the Crimean Tatar intelligentsia and suspiciously by the Crimean Tatar people. Against this background, there was a certain progress in the cultural development of the population of the peninsula. The Crimea received autonomy, Crimean Tatars were officially recognized as the indigenous people of the peninsula and their language received the status of state language. The policy of indigenization (*korenizatsiya*), which was declared the general policy of the Communist Party in 1923, granted to the indigenous inhabitants of the Crimea higher quotas in the organs of power, educational institutions, economy, and, above all, in cultural affairs and the arts.⁹ The reorganization of the system of national education started; new cultural institutions

7 During the rule of the Girey dynasty, Italian and French masters were invited to the Court.

8 Ursu 1999 a, p. 5.

9 Ursu 1999 a, p. 7.

were established. The circumstances were favourable to the appearance of a new pleiad of cultural and artistic workers, including Crimean Tatar artists. During the 1920s and 1930s, traditional handicrafts were being revived: in Bakhchisarai, e.g., the Handicraft-Industrial Technical School of Eastern Peoples, later known as Crimean Oblast Tatar Art-Industrial School was active.¹⁰

However, the situation soon changed. The Soviet authorities were unwilling to put up with such an intensive manifestation of autonomy. This led to irreversible losses for the Crimean Tatar people. Before the deportation, Crimean Tatar art was of high quality and original, but has not yet been studied sufficiently. The latter circumstance is due to the fact that information about this period was intentionally withheld for many years. It is true, the first generation of Crimean Tatar artists whose creative activity had started before the Bolshevik revolution, had been reared in the traditions of Russian and European academic art; all of them received an excellent education outside the Crimea. At the same time, they never lost connection with the cultural heritage of their people. They had an all-round education, and their talent manifested itself in many creative fields.¹¹

The first generation of Crimean Tatar professional masters of oil painting included Usein Bodaninskii, Abdurefi Abiev and Abdulla Lyatif-zade, who graduated from the Stroganov Artistic-Industrial College, Moscow, in 1895–1905. Their merit is that they made fine arts an indispensable constituent of the cultural life of the Crimean Tatar people. The appearance of the first group of professional Crimean Tatar artists was partly due to the considerable publishing activity of Ismail Gasprinskii, Ilyas Boraganskii, Abdureshid Mediev, and other Crimean Tatar publishers. They needed professional artists, representatives of Crimean Tatar culture and art, to illustrate newspapers, magazines, and books that were published since the 1880s in the Crimea and in St. Petersburg. Colonel Ismail Mufti-zade, a Crimean Tatar patron, who was an associate of Ismail Gasprinskii, rendered great services, too. In 1883, he founded the *Dzhemiyet-i khayriye* (charitable foundation), which the Czarist authorities officially did not register until 1887. At the expense of I. Mufti-zade and his foundation, the first Crimean Tatar painters were sent to study in Moscow and afterwards, at the end of the 19th century, to France, Italy, Germany, and Turkey.¹²

It is a characteristic of Crimean Tatar artists of the first generation that they tried to reflect the life of their people in all its diversity. A realistic, concrete, and illustrative way of representation became dominant in their works. Such genres as landscape, portrait, and genre painting developed. Much attention was paid to details peculiar to local life. The artists were interested in people, their work, ethnographic peculiarities, garments, and way of life. The landscapes are saturated with light and air, and are full of life. The style of realism, prevailing everywhere in the Soviet

10 Cherkezova 1999, p. 86.

11 Shendrikova/ Polkovnik 2001, pp. 14, 18, 54.

12 Polkanov 1936, p. 175.

state, was not an impediment for Crimean Tatar artists at this stage of development: they simply took up the chances of realistic painting; they aspired to reflect faithfully their land, their people, and their life.

It is interesting that the Russian Soviet culture actively developing in the Crimea during the first half of the 20th century hardly came into contact with professionals of Crimean Tatar background. Thus, there was no representative of the Crimean Tatar creative intelligentsia in the Sevastopol Artists Association (1923), the first organization of its kind in the Crimea. But in this context it should also be mentioned that the artists Ya. Birzgal, N. Samokish, and the writer M. Voloshin-Kirichenko who had moved to the Crimea made quite an effort to bring the two cultures together.¹³

U. Bodaninskii, A. Abiev, A. Lyatif-zade, A. Yarmuhamedov, and R. Chelebiev represent the first generation of Crimean Tatar artists. Of course, there were more of them. For example, in the issues of the *Terjüman* newspaper, which have become available to Crimean Tatar scholars only recently, the name of Gafar Shemsi Alyadinov, born in Evpatoriya, came to light. The newspaper issue of June 10, 1914, communicates that in 1914 he graduated from Odessa Art School and, because of his talent, was sent to Moscow for further education.¹⁴

The next group of Crimean Tatar artists is composed of new social and professional strata. We know about them from the articles by the Crimean expert of art in the 1930s, A. Polkanov, who worked in a museum and published in the journal *Literature and Art of the Crimea* (issued since 1935). These articles allow us to assess the changes, which took place in the 1930s in the cultural life of Soviet Crimea. Firstly, silence was kept on purpose about the activities of the first national artists who had been educated abroad. The above-mentioned A. Polkanov wrote: "There was not a single national artist in pre-revolutionary Crimea (...); only under Soviet power did the art of painting become available to the national indigenous population of the Crimea, as one of the results of Leninist-Stalinist national policy." Secondly, the social background of the artists changed considerably; most of them originated now from families of workers and *kolkhozniki* and were self-taught. Finally, the topics of painting changed as well. They embraced "all sides of Soviet reality and of the revolutionary fight" and presented "the portraits of the best workers in industry and farming"; they took up topics like "building socialism", although the Crimean Tatar masters themselves still preferred works of ethnographic character. In spite of their different social background, the two generations of Crimean Tatar artists were united by one thing: their inextinguishable aspiration for creation.

A number of exhibitions, organized in the Crimea (Feodosiya, 1927; Simferopol', 1922, 1925, 1927, 1930, 1939, 1940) showed that the Crimean Tatar masters had every chance to take the leading position in the fine arts of the Crimea. Their brilliant and original works attracted the attention of art critics. Thus, at the exhibition dedicated to the 15th anniversary of the establishment of Soviet rule in the

13 Polkanov 1941, pp. 144–145.

14 Zaatov 2003, pp. 219–220.

Crimea, there were works of 21 Crimean Tatar artists, 43 Russians, eight Ukrainians, eleven Jews, and individual representatives of other nationalities. D. Ursu observed: "as for their talent, the Crimean Tatar artists take the first rank among the participants of the exhibition". Among them were A. Ustaev (winner of the first prize of the exhibition), A. Yarmuhamedov, M. Abselyamov (second prize), Khalilev, Osmanov, Asanov, Yagyaev, Ablyaev, Azmiev, Selyametov, Memetov, Azizov, the masters of folklore A. Kalafatov, A. Efendieva, F. Alieva, A. Memetova, and others.¹⁵

In addition to the artists of the first generation U. Bodaninskii, A. Abiev, G. Alyadinov, A. Lyatif-zade, A. Yarmukhamedov, who had been repressed in the 1930s, the following pre-war Crimean Tatar artists should be mentioned: A. Ustaev, T. Afuzov, M. Sherfedinov, Sh. Kadri-zade, M. Abselyamov, Sh. Muratov, E. Alimov, S. Osmanov, R. Chelebiev, E.-A. Parikov, Kh. Bogoudinov.¹⁶

Crimean Tatar fine arts between 1944 and 1989

The second stage of the development of Crimean Tatar fine arts covers the period from the 1950s to the 1980s, when the Crimean Tatars lived in places where the deportation had taken them. As the Moscow scholar E. Kudusov observed, during the years of exile something unforeseen happened: "Instead of vanishing from the face of the earth and from the ethnic map of the world, dissolving in other Turkic-language peoples, the Crimean Tatars not only preserved their national identity, but also demonstrated an astonishing quality of self-assertion and vitality (...) and became one of the most educated nations of the world". Some Crimean Tatar masters, who had started their creative development in the Crimea, could show their worth beyond its borders and became widely recognized.

During the years of deportation, most Crimean Tatars lived in the territory of Uzbekistan. Therefore, the special role of the Uzbek art school in the formation of Crimean Tatar artists and its great influence on the development of Crimean Tatar masters should be stressed. Hundreds of Crimean Tatar boys and girls graduated from the art schools of Tashkent and Ferghana. The first Crimean Tatar sculptors of the classical school (A. Aliev, Sh. Akhtemov), *expositionists* (A. Seit-Ametov), and masters of tapestry (M. Churlu) made their appearance in Uzbekistan. Many painters (R. Useinov, A. Barash, I. Nafiev), graphic artists (Z. Trasinova, E. Izetov), and ceramic sculptors (S. Yakubov, I. Abliev, F. Seitkhalilov, R. Yakubov) were educated there.¹⁷

Some of the Crimean Tatar artists attended the leading higher art schools of Russia and other republics of the former USSR: N. Yakubov (in Moscow), L. Trasinova (in Leningrad), A. Belyalov, R. Abdurakhmanov, A. Seit-Ametov, R. Netovkin (in the Ukraine), I. Veliullaev, Sh. Il'yasov, Kh. Memedlyayev,

15 Ursu 1999 b, p. 19.

16 Chervonnaya 1995, p. 228; Kerimova/Zaatov/ Veliev 2003, p. 187.

17 Shendrikova/ Polkovnik 2001, pp. 12–22.

Sh. Seidametov (in Tajikistan), and K. Dzhepparov (in Georgia). The sculptor I. Ediler was trained in West Germany; first he graduated from the Higher Art School in Munich and then from the Art Academies in Munich and Düsseldorf. We should mention particularly those artists whose creative development had started in the pre-war Crimea and flourished in the 1950s to the 1980s. These include, above all, K. Eminov, I. Shemsedinov, A. Mustafaev, D. Takhtarov, F. Redzhepov, Kh. Memedlyaev, N. Plandzhiev, A. Ismailov, O. Chubarov, S. Osmanov, M. Abselyamov, and others.¹⁸

Crimean Tatar fine arts from 1989 up to 2004

The end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s represent a new stage in the development of the national culture and art in general and the creative work of Crimean Tatar artists in particular. This is, first of all, connected with the beginning of the mass return of Crimean Tatars to their homeland, which was possible only in an independent and democratic Ukraine. Before, artists who earlier had lived in different towns and villages had been deprived of creative communication, of the right to develop national themes and to live in their fatherland. Now, for the first time after many years, representatives of the indigenous nationality, who had demonstrated their excellence and originality, were able to directly influence the cultural processes in the Crimea.

Radical changes in the life of the nation, the reactivation of political life, the fact that the Crimean Tatar people received democratic rights and freedoms naturally exerted their influence on the general development of art. Sometimes it is clearly political in character, as many artists have been and still are active participants of the national movement. Artists had to solve organizational problems – inevitable in a period of developing “new territory” – very quickly and on their own (problems connected with accommodation, studios, organization of the first exhibitions, and popularization of Crimean Tatar art).

By January 1, 2004, 264 000 repatriates had returned to the Crimea from exile. At present, Crimean Tatars compose 13 per cent of the population of the Crimea, but this number is increasing constantly (it was less than 0.1 per cent in 1989). The return of masters and artists has gained momentum since 1991, after the First All-Union Exhibition of Crimean Tatar artists had been held in Simferopol'. Crimean Tatar artists from all the republics of the Soviet Union were invited to take part in this exhibition. Other exhibitions followed in 1991–1994. Group exhibitions were organized in the towns of the Crimea and beyond (in Uzbekistan, Russia, Greece, Poland, Turkey, Germany, Georgia, England, and Israel). At the same time, there were single exhibitions of such recognized masters as M. Churlu, K. Dzhepparov, E. Izetov, R. Netovkin, R. Useinov, Z. Trasinova, S. Osmanov, A. Barash, N. Yakubov, A. Aliev, I. Veliullaev, I. Nafiev, I. Abliev, S. Kurtzhemil', Kh. Memedlyaev, R. Eminov, I. Shemsedinova, E. Osmanova, and others. Since 1995, ten to

18 Zaatov 2003, pp. 227–231.

fifteen group and single exhibitions of Crimean Tatar artists have been held in and outside the Crimea every year.

The exhibitions of Crimean Tatar artists initiated a great deal of organizational activity, directed at the creation of a governmental and societal basis for the development of Crimean Tatar fine arts. In 1989, a Coordination Centre for the revival of Crimean Tatar culture was founded. On its basis, the Crimean Tatar cultural fund was organized later on.

In 1992, the Association of Crimean Tatar Artists was registered. All the organizational problems facing the young Association were to be solved by its directors, representatives of the Crimean Tatar intelligentsia. Artist E. Izetov was the head of the Association from 1992 to 2001. While he stayed in Uzbekistan (1994), the Association was headed by F. Asanova and M. Churlu. Since 2001, I. Nafiev has been the head of the organization. Since its foundation, the Association has organized a great number of exhibitions in the Crimea, the Ukraine and abroad.

Simultaneously with this Association, the Crimean Tatar National Gallery was established. Its official founder was the Committee for the Nationalities and Deported Citizens at the Government of the Crimea. In 1992–1993, the Gallery worked with the assistance of the Coordination Centre for the revival of the Crimean Tatar culture, and the deposits were kept in the Simferopol' Museum of Art. From August 1993 to 1997, the Association of Crimean Tatar Artists supervised the activities of the Gallery and the development of its funds, but government support finally was reduced to zero. In the late 1990s, the Gallery was reorganized into the Museum of Fine Arts of the Crimean Tatars and included in the Library of the Crimean Tatar Republic first as a department, and then as a branch. In January 2000, the status of the museum was raised and it became the Art Museum of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea.

The existence of the museum allows laying the foundations for an academic Crimean Tatar school for the study of art in a professional way, an endeavour started by U. Bodaninskii and O. Akchokrakly in the first years of the last century. In the opinion of the board, the museum should become a national centre for the study of art.

All these necessary organizational activities were accompanied by hardships and by conflicts between the artists and the authorities, inevitable in such cases. In this context, it is especially encouraging that in their homeland, Crimean Tatar masters became a serious creative force from the very beginning of the repatriation and have influenced the development of the artistic process in the Crimea. Moreover, Crimean Tatar art has become known all over the world. As mentioned above, individual and group exhibits of Crimean Tatar artists have been on view regularly in Moscow, Petersburg, Kiev, Turkey, and in Germany. In 1994, *e.g.*, the exhibition *Crimean Tatar art. A thorny path to Europe* was shown in Duisburg, Germany, and afterwards most of the works were shown at Hungen castle, Cologne. At present, Crimean Tatar artists have exhibitions in the Crimea, Ukraine, Turkey, Germany, Poland, Romania, Russia, and Uzbekistan.

Today, Crimean Tatar fine arts experience hard times, which are not only due to the difficult circumstances of the life of most artists. After long decades of repression, persecution, and silencing, interest in the culture of the Crimean Tatars is so great that sometimes the standards for the selection of works of art are set too low. The organizers of exhibitions who welcome any manifestation of creative initiative often include pictures that vary widely in their level of quality. This may lead to erroneous evaluations concerning the tendencies in the development of modern Crimean Tatar fine arts. Therefore a strictly objective approach is required to analyze the creations of Crimean Tatar artists.

Painting

Most Crimean Tatar artists have returned to their fatherland, but many still live outside the Crimea. R. Ėminov, V. Useinov, I. Dzheter, A. Mustafaev, G. Alimatova, A. Ismailov, S. Kurtzhemil, and others continue to live and work in Uzbekistan. During exile, the Uzbek land became the cradle of learning for the Crimean Tatar intelligentsia.

The specialist of modern Crimean Tatar art, S. Czerwonnaja, stresses that before the end of the 1980s, Crimean Tatar art existed without official recognition of its ethnic tinge and national independence: "...at the exhibitions, in art-historical research, and in the massmedia, the artists of Crimean Tatar nationality were considered representatives of the corresponding republics and cities. There was no mentioning of their 'other' ethnicity either in the catalogues, or in the press." In fact, in Uzbek art history, for example, M. Churlu is known as a remarkable master of tapestry, but it has not been mentioned anywhere that he is a representative of the Crimean Tatar people living and working in Uzbekistan.¹⁹

In the creative work of Crimean Tatar artists, the end of the 20th century is marked by a diversity of artistic genres and trends and a revival of the classical schools: symbolism, expressionism, surrealism, and others. Having been hemmed in for many years by the imposed frame of socialist realism, Crimean Tatar artists now have the freedom of choice and the ability to express their thoughts and feelings openly. The search for new artistic means and methods led to the study of works, which earlier had been forbidden and were concealed from the public in the store-rooms of museums. For some masters, images different from reality have become a great stimulus for self-expression and determinants of their creative style. Others still adhere to the principles of realism in their most sincere and authentic manifestation.

Recognized masters of Crimean Tatar painting are R. Useinov, M. Churlu, N. Yakubov, I. Nafiev, A. Useinov, A. Seydametov (Barash), S. Kurtzhemil, R. Ėminov, V. Useinov, I. Velyullaev, A. Belyalov, E. Osmanova, O. Chubarov, Sh. Seidametov, M. Aliev, G. Alimatova, K. Dzhapparov, A. Bekirov.

19 Chervonnaya 1995, pp. 240–241.

Graphic art

Graphic art has always been a popular genre, especially in periods of strained socio-political relations and social crisis. Almost all the leading Crimean Tatar painters have, in one way or another, worked in this genre. There is a considerable variety of creative solutions, which may be explained by the fact that various masters differing in their professional education have tried this genre. In modern Crimean Tatar graphic art, one may find straightforward propaganda solutions or vulgar stylization, but at the same time, there are delicate, poetic, deep approaches to describing the tragedy of the nation and propagating the ideals of national revival. Nevertheless, the best works of Crimean Tatar graphic art are far from politics; they are dedicated to eternal values of morality and culture.

Among the leading graphic artists are R. Netovkin, E. Izetov, Z. Trasinova. Interesting work has been done by A. Useinov, L. Trasinova, Ya. Temirkayev, A. Seit-Ametov, R. Aliev, Sh. Dervishev, È. Seit-Ametova, D. Osmanov, I. Dzhete-re, Z. Ibragimov, Z. Akimova, R. Abdurakhmanov, D. Seitaptiev.

Sculpture and plastic miniatures

In the Crimea, sculpture became an independent genre relatively late, but national traditions of stone carving go back to ancient times. It has been an essential part of the life and culture of the Crimean Tatar people. It included tombstones, architectural decoration of buildings, and miniature stone statues. Before Islam became the prevalent religion on the peninsula in the Middle Ages, the predecessors of the Crimean Tatars had made different anthropomorphic stone sculptures. These are the well-known statues found in the foothills of the Crimean mountains, made possibly in the second millennium BC, and the Scythian, Sarmatian, Old Turkic, and Kypchak sculptures (*balbal*), placed in the Crimean steppes in honour of dead chiefs. At the beginning of the 20th century, when all genres of art started to develop in the Crimea, the preconditions for the formation of a Crimean Tatar school of sculpture were met. The national masters created works required by their times and ideology and participated in local and All-Union exhibitions. In the 1930s, some Crimean Tatar sculptors were repressed, others died after the deportation from the Crimea. The traditions of stone sculpture discontinued and almost all cultural achievements of the people were destroyed and consigned to oblivion.

Today, an intense revival of Crimean Tatar art is taking place in the Crimea. Masters working in the field of sculpture are mostly young artists who have just started their creative development and who will make their presence felt. Modern sculptors of the Crimea, as well as painters, received their professional education outside the Republic. Having returned home, they continue their creative activity, though they have had to face many social and economic problems. A. Aliev and I. Ediler should be mentioned here, as well as the artists A. Belyalov, I. Ametov, E. Zaidullaev, Sh. Akhtemov, R. Ablyayev, F. Seitkhalilov, R. Yakubov, S. Yakubov, and Sh. Il'yasov. In spite of the existing hardships, Crimean Tatar sculptors continue

their search for new means and forms of expression. They are trying to keep up with new developments and to make their contribution to the development of Crimean Tatar art.

Summary

New forms of art, European in style, found their way to the Crimea first under the influence of French culture²⁰ and then Russian culture during a time when traditional culture experienced a deep crisis. In the Crimea, the process of penetration started somewhat earlier and was more intensive than in other Muslim regions of the Russian Empire, for example, in Turkestan.²¹

The first Crimean Tatar artists who became active already at the beginning of the 20th century were educated abroad. Many of them had no time to realize their talent; their fate was tragic; they were executed in 1937. But they were able to leave a bright trail in the history of Crimean Tatar fine arts.

The artists of the second generation were educated in the Crimea, mainly at the studio of N. Samokish; some of them were self-taught. Their destiny was also very tragic; they shared the fate of their deported people. During the pre-war period, Crimean Tatar fine arts developed in line with Soviet culture and ideology. Socialist realism, which determined the content of the works of art, on the one hand, opened up new horizons; on the other hand, it forced the artist to adhere to the obligatory official style.

Several decades of hardship and discrimination during the post-war period could not extinguish the peoples' aspiration for things beautiful: a new generation of Crimean Tatar artists and sculptors emerged, but, unfortunately, they were scattered among different towns and republics and were separated from each other. Their work was recognized, but for many years, they were deprived of the right to speak, in the language of art, about their land, their people. Even today, the creation of many artists, living outside the Crimea, develops beyond the borders of national cultural identification.

Only since the return of the Crimean Tatars to their fatherland, may we speak of the resurgence in the development of Crimean Tatar fine arts in the 20th century. But the 1990s differ qualitatively from the period of the 1920s to 1930s, when the term "renaissance" with regard to Crimean Tatar culture was conventional, because there was no revival of national traditions and Russian and European influence formed the basis for the cultural upsurge. But concerning the 1990s, we may speak about a true national renaissance.

The main themes in the works of Crimean Tatar artists are deportation, exile, and repatriation; they are able to study their cultural heritage, which was almost completely destroyed in their native land. The present revolution in public

20 *E.g.*, staging of plays by Molière in 1768 at the court of Krym Girey and, in everyday life, the style of the Crimean Tatar nobility *alafranga* (in European style).

21 Kerimova/Zaatov/Veliev 2003, pp. 13, 14.

consciousness leads to the appearance of new means of artistic expression: pseudo-pathetic socialist realism, subconsciously connected with the years of exile and oblivion, is replaced by new styles (symbolism, calligraphic abstractionism, historic and national romanticism), which for Crimean Tatar art are still avant-garde. At the same time, negative features can be found, too, – the political orientation of some works substitutes professional skill.

At present, there are several directions in modern Crimean Tatar art. The leading style is still realism, vital and true, which lends support to the artists returning home and trying to absorb and convey the beauty of the native land and people that had not been accessible for a long time. It is not accidental that the main genres have become portraits and landscapes, which exclusively reflect the nature and people of the Crimea (the artists S. Osmanov, N. Yakubov, R. Netovkin, I. Nafiev, D. Osmanov, and others). The next significant direction is symbolism. This style allows the artists to speak about the global themes of Crimean Tatar history, avoiding at the same time narrative illustration (deportation, return, acquisition of traditional values: the land of the ancestors, home, fatherland). The artists working in this direction often use the methods of primitivism and decorativism (artists M. Churlu, R. Useinov, A. Barash, E. Izetov, and others). The revived art of calligraphy, now turning into “calligraphic abstractionism”, belongs to the new forms of creativity, or more exactly, long forgotten old forms of art (A. Seit-Ametov). Finally, A. Belyalov and E. Osmanova work in the style of national romanticism and the young artist R. Balich in historic romanticism.

Today, Crimean Tatars can realize their creative potential freely on their native land, and this is a guarantee for the revival and development of national Crimean Tatar art and culture.

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Volga-Ural Region

Muslim Traditions in Modern Tatar Art: *shamail*, Décor, and Architecture of Mosques

Anife Akhmetchina

In the 1980s and 1990s, a tendency for the revival of traditional types of Islamic art came to the fore in the Volga-Ural region and painters felt attracted by traditional Islamic aesthetics.

Over the centuries, the Islamic art of this region was formed by the close spiritual and material contacts that bound together the Muslim countries. In the Volga-Ural region, influences first from the Bagdad khalifate and the Arab world, then Iran, the Caucasus, Seljuk Turkey, the Crimea, and other centres of the Golden Horde, and finally from the Ottoman Empire had their effect on the arts production. The influence of the principles of Sunni Islam on the culture of the Kazan Tatars is visible in the decorative style of all kinds of art, floral and vegetable ornaments are the main artistic means. From the beginning of the 12th century, the Arabic script was widely used in the decorative arts and architecture, especially *kufi* and *thuluth*. The Muslim culture of the Volga Bulgars flourished in the 13th–14th centuries. Under the rule of the Golden Horde, new ethnies, such as the Tatars, came into existence.

One of the typical creations of Bulgar Tatar Islamic art is the so-called *shamail*. This is a wall panel of rectangular horizontal form, usually containing a calligraphic text from the Qur'an. The *shamail* is an inseparable part of the interior of Tatar houses and mosques. It is usually fixed on the wall above the door. *Shamail* can also contain secular texts or religious and secular texts simultaneously. Secular texts appeared in *shamail* at the end of the 19th century, in the period when ideas of reform (Jadidism) spread among the Muslims of the Russian Empire. Representatives of this progressive movement propagated the idea that Islam sanctioned and provided social progress for the Muslims as a religious value.¹ They spoke in favour of reforms in Muslim schools, where secular subjects such as mathematics, geography, history, and physics should be taught. Under the influence of these reform ideas of Jadidism, *shamail* with completely different themes appeared. There were now secular texts, practical and moral advice, historical information, information on nature, medicine, and geography in the *shamail*. In this way, the *shamail* became the source not only of information on the Qur'an, but also of secular knowledge.

This form of artistic creation was very widespread among the Tatar population. The artists who created *shamail* needed practical knowledge in different scripts,

1 Amirkhanov, R.: Islam v istorii tatarskoi obshchestvennoj mysli. In: *Tatarstan* 1993, No. 4, p. 84.

patience, and talent. The basics of calligraphy were taught in numerous *mekteb* and *medrese* (Muslim schools). Frequently, the author of a *shamail* found in a house was the head or one of the members of the family. Not all calligraphic samples were masterpieces. But “the specialists reached excellent results and created magnificent pieces,” wrote the well-known scholar of Tatar culture N. I. Vorob’ev.² Handwritten books, executed by the scholar and well-known calligrapher Ali Mahmudov (a teacher at the Oriental faculty of Kazan University until 1883) are kept in the Lobachevskii library of Kazan State University. We also know that Tatar calligraphers were active for libraries in Turkey and Central Asia. A whole dynasty of calligraphers from the village of Tyunter near Kazan worked at copying Oriental manuscripts in one of the famous libraries in Bukhara.³

In Soviet times, *shamail* art was banned and practically disappeared, though it continued its existence among amateur artists in private homes.

Nowadays, a number of Tatar professionals and artists practice traditional calligraphy, and there are some calligraphers among Tatar academic linguists, too. These painters-calligraphers also teach their pupils the practical knowledge of the Arabic script.

The works of Firdaus Girfanov, *e.g.*, are remarkable for their ensemble of compositional elements, their clear artistic language, and their deep meaning. The content of his *shamail* “The city of Kazan” (1994, The Museum of National Culture) and “Bulgar garden” (1995, the painter’s private collection) suggests that Firdaus Girfanov is a landscape painter. He depicts “landscapes” of architectural monuments of Volga Bulgar cities and the Kazan khanate, where the history and culture of the Tatar people and their fate developed. The landscapes are imaginary; many of them correspond only to the suggestions of archaeological research. But his intention to recreate the past in his pictures reflects the current mental situation of Tatar society, which is trying to obtain better knowledge of the past of the Tatar people and to reflect on its historical legacy.

The *shamail* “Islam” (1995, author’s collection), “Khadis” (1996, author’s collection), and “Steps of believing” (1995, “Turan” foundation) where the painter represents Muslim sacred objects and symbols, can be compared each to a philosophical treatise about Islam. The style of Girfanov’s *shamail* is close to primitive. They are made in accordance with an old technology, painted on glass, on the backside covered with foil. The artist mainly uses the *naskh*, *nastaalik*, and *kufi* scripts.

Nazhip Ismagilov, a linguist and scholar at the G. Ibragimov Institute of Literature, is engaged in studying Tatar literature of the Middle Ages. This is probably

2 Vorob’ev, N.: *Material’naya kul’tura kazanskikh tatar*. Kazan’: Dom tatarskoi kul’tury i akademicheskogo tsentra TNKP, 1930, p. 45.

3 Valeeva-Suleimanova, G., Shageeva, R.: *Dekorativno-prikladnoe iskusstvo kazanskikh tatar*. Moskva: Sovetskii khudozhnik, 1990, p. 45.

why he not only uses Qur'an texts in his *shamail* and *tughra*⁴, but also secular texts. Verses of well-known Tatar poets, like Kul Gali, Akmulla, Chokryi, and of poets of the Muslim East, as well as oral poetry, praising human virtue, can be seen in his *shamail* and *tughra*. The composition of his *shamail* is reminiscent of the pages of richly illuminated manuscripts. The use not only of letters of the Arabic script, but also of Latin and Cyrillic ones, is peculiar for Ismagilov's art. The lines of a folksong on the events of 1552⁵ in the *shamail* "Syuyumbike" are written in these three types of scripts.

Almost all *shamail* by Ismagilov are made on paper and with India (Chinese) ink. The painter also created a series of *tughra*. Some *tughra* represent compositions consisting of several elements. The painter supplements his calligraphic representations with objects, signs, and symbols, which characterize types of human activities. The calligraphy of Ismagilov takes its great variety from types of scripts used, like *thuluth*, *naskh*, *kufi*, *nastaalik*, the special *tughra* style, the exuberant use of decorative elements, and of illumination.

The creations of Rishat Salakhutdinov are experimental due to the combination of Muslim art of the East and European techniques of painting. A series of his works, made in the style of modern advertisement, is quite unusual: Salakhutdinov fills the surface with a single colour or alternating stripes of different shades of colour. The Qur'an text stands out brightly against this surface. Joining the techniques of modern design and calligraphy in the *shamail* "Sailing ship" (1997, author's collection), the painter creates the landscape, the view of a town, situated on the bank of a river. Here, stripes of cold blue shadows alternating with a gradual thickening of the colour create spatial depth. Salakhutdinov experiments with materials too, e.g., he uses canvas, cardboard, metal, and plastic, which are not traditional for this kind of art. The painter also applies the traditional technology of oil painting to glass. His *shamail* series "After-dinner prayer" (1997, fig. 1), e.g., is quite original due to this contrast.

According to the art historian Sh. Shukurov, the following is characteristic for Islamic culture: "The word, pronounced, written, painted in an ornament or seen in a landscape, is at the centre of Islamic culture."⁶ The aesthetical aim of Muslims to see, to read, think, or write a letter or word and to praise God through it, brought about the continuity of the calligraphic tradition in Tatar embroidery, wood-carving, and jewellery as well.

Under modern conditions, the role of religion as a factor of ethnic identification is increasing. The Tatar people understand the mosque as a phenomenon of national

4 A calligraphic emblem of Turkic rulers, documented since the 11th century. Under the Ottoman sultans, in particular, it became a highly stylised and artistic representation of the name and titles of the ruler, princes, and high state officials, see C. E. Bosworth et al.: "Tughra", in: *The Encyclopedia of Islam*², vol. X (1999).

5 In 1552, Ivan IV of Moscow conquered Kazan, the capital of the khans of Kazan.

6 Shukurov, Sh.: *Bylo, est' i prebudet slovo*. In: *Nauka i religiya*, 1988, No. 11, p. 8.

culture, “as a symbol, underlining the independence of a person, as a representative of his ethnos.”⁷ Nowadays, there are more than 700 mosques in Tatarstan, including the mosques built by Russian architects in pre-revolutionary times. The influence of European styles, like baroque, classic, and modern, and of the architecture of Muslim countries is obvious. In the past twenty years, new mosques were built in the Republic of Tatarstan, and the building continues. In their religious constructions, the architects took into consideration the peculiarities of the Tatar house and of country mosques and used elements of national architecture and ornament in their decorations. The design and decoration of mosques realized the concept of interacting traditions from East and West. “An architect who designs a mosque always relies upon his own (or the patron’s) understanding of beauty as it is characteristic for the epoch, national culture, or the political reasons behind the contract,”⁸ says N. Khalit, a well-known Tatar scholar and expert of national architecture. This is true for the mosques that were built in Tatarstan in the 1980s and 1990s.

The age of new mosque building began in Naberezhnye Chelny (fig. 2, 3). The *Täubä* (Repentance) Mosque was completed in 1992. The construction coincided with the festivities devoted to the 1000th anniversary of the adoption of Islam by the Volga Bulgars, believed to be the ancestors of the Kazan Tatars. Three men decided upon the architectural and artistic appearance of the *Täubä* mosque: the architect Basyrov, the head of the building company *Chelnygorstroy*, Bibishev, and Talgat Tadzhutdin, the Mufti of the Muslims in Russia.

“Tastes differ”, but in spite of that, the three men agreed in their aspiration to create a representative edifice, which should become a landmark of the town of Naberezhnye Chelny. In spite of the critical economic situation in Tatarstan at the beginning of the 1990s, nobody wanted to build the *Täubä* mosque as a modest, cheap construction, *i.e.*, in the traditional country style. An innovation is the location of the mosque on the high bank of the river Kama, where mosques were not built for many centuries, because the Tatars were prohibited to settle there by decree of the tsar. The building of the mosque was to symbolize the start of a new age, new in two respects – the reconstruction of the Tatar state and the revival of Muslim religious life in the republic. The shape of the mosque is unusual. Explaining the exterior of the mosque, the architect Basyrov said: “It is new, because it is the first mosque on our territory after many centuries of suppression, of unbelief, and our loss of the right way, the way of Allah”.⁹

Although the design of the *Täubä* mosque is new and unusual in its architectural outline and decoration, the idea of its succession to the medieval Volga Bulgar culture was well carried out. Classic motives (primarily, stylized tulips) are picked up in ornamental patterns, in plaster and wood carving, in mosaics and stained-glass win-

7 Musina, R.: Islam i musul'mane v sovremennom Tatarstane. In: *Islam v tatarskom mire: istoriya i sovremennost'*. Kazan' 1997, p. 215.

8 Khalitov, N.: *Mechet' i ee arkhitektura*. Kazan' 1994, p. 19.

9 Interview with the architect.

dows, which constitute the interior design. The painters who executed the design are Shamil Mutilullin and Khurmatulla Khalikov, masters in the history of medieval Volga Bulgar art.

The painters followed the instructions of Mufti Talgat Tadzhutdin, who wished to see the name of Allah written on the walls of the mosque 99 times. Calligraphic texts and inscriptions in *nastaalik* script, the most popular script in the Tatar culture of writing, cover the interior and exterior of the mosque. The texts are executed in different kinds of materials and decorative techniques. Only one mosque in the Muslim world has shown the 99 names of Allah before, the *al-Haram* mosque in Mecca. Now the ambitious wish of the head of the Muftiat of the Russian Muslims to have the same feature in Naberezhnye Chelny was fulfilled and *Täubä* became the second mosque in the world, where one can find and read the name of Allah 99 times.

There are also mosaics that glitter with calligraphic patterns, covering the outer walls of the mosque and its minaret (fig. 3). These patterns cover the decorative rosettes made from cast marble like thick lace. There are also rosettes, made in the finest *gunch* technique (soft gypsum), all over the inner walls and ceilings. The text of the *Ayat al-Kursi* (*sura* 2 of the Qur'an) is inscribed four times and the *sura* 112 (*al-Ikhlās*) appears three times in the *mihrab* niche. The mosaic pattern in this niche in stone inlaid work using marble, jasper, rodonite, dolomite, many-coloured serpentine stone (ophite), and others (the stones of green colour symbolize the power and blossoming of the rebirth of Islam) gives the impression of splendour. Monumental panels symmetrically frame the *mihrab* niche from both sides. One of them shows the Muslim sanctuary of the *Kaaba* and the holy places of Mecca and Medina, the other panel displays the monuments of Volga Bulgaria and a green road, leading to them. It symbolizes the right way found by the Muslims of Tatarstan. *Shamail* complete the interior decoration. All of them are modern art imports, brought to Naberezhnye Chelny from Turkey.

The *Täubä* mosque, the first new mosque in Naberezhnye Chelny and in Tatarstan, is no longer singular. From an artistic point of view as well as in respect to town planning and education, we should pay attention to the mosque Abuzar (also in Naberezhnye Chelny). It was planned as an architectural complex, including the mosque itself, the building of an Islam Institute (an academic centre, equipped with modern technology), and an institution of higher education (*medrese*) with a library and a hostel for students (*shakird*), and other buildings. Everything is planned here not to look brilliant, but to organize the everyday life of young people educated here. The interior is divided into a masculine and a feminine sphere for studies and prayers. The dome of the mosque (architect V. Manukyan) shows harmony and elegant lines. The exterior and interior decoration of the mosque draws our attention with its simplicity and severity, its peculiar flat geometric rhythm of plain rectangular, quadratic and triangular figures, painted in white and green, and the walls laid out in white, pink, and grey slabs. Stained-glass windows are inserted into the arches above the doors, while *shamail* and carved panels with varying tulip

motives adorn the inner walls. Carpets are found in the prayer hall and the student auditorium. However, the Abuzar ensemble is not an example of architectural and decorative perfection. Its decoration shows rational dryness, and the superstructures above the wings of the *medrese* building are eclectic, posing as minarets in the style of the Syuyumbike tower in Kazan.

At present, the construction of the Friday mosque is being carried out in Naberezhnye Chelny. The author of the project, M. Basyrov, the architect already experienced in the construction of the *Täubä* mosque, wants to create a majestic dome construction expressing the idea of "monolithic unity of the nation, capable to create and to defend its state".¹⁰ The design of the interior of this mosque by the artist R. Salakhutdinov includes wooden and plaster carving, stained-glass windows, and especially rich ceramic panels and tiles. Calligraphic patterns will also be used here extensively, *e.g.*, in the multiple writing of the name of Allah and in texts from the Qur'an.

In 1995, the building of the Friday mosque was completed in Nizhnekamsk, the second largest industrial centre of Eastern Tatarstan (founded in 1950). The mosque has four minarets with tent cupolas (fig. 4). The mosque itself consists of two parts, one for women, one for men, each part with its own entrance. The inner design of the part for female believers, consisting of a hall for prayers and a classroom, looks modest. The only decoration in the room is a floor carpet. The part for male believers, counting on many more users, is larger and decorated. The walls are covered with marble slabs in white and grey, placed in chess board order. In this way, the builders of the mosque realized the principle of polychromy, traditional in Tatar art. The expanse of the high walls in the prayer hall is "broken" by the windows, the height of which increases in the direction of the *mihrab*. The wall panels between the windows are decorated with paintings on dry plaster. Rosettes with texts from the Qur'an are situated above the painted panels. The *mihrab* of the mosque is also decorated with flower and vegetable motives. The building itself is brick-red.

Another mosque is being built in Yelabuga, the architect is F. Galiev. The mosque is a central cupola construction with attached minaret. The traditional principle of polychromy is realized by using bricks of different shades in the exterior of the mosque. The minaret has a gallery for the muezzin's call to prayer. The architects of the mosque used some elements of Turkish architecture for the exterior decoration of the building. The tiles of the minaret are decorated with tulips designed by R. Salyakhov. The cupola of the minaret resembles a female hat traditional among some Turkic peoples.

When they planned the Muslim centre in Almetevsk, the architects F. Mavlyutov and A. Zamaliev proceeded from the idea of connecting the modern Tatar people with traditional Tatar culture and humanistic ideals. Except for the prayer hall, which is situated on the first floor of the two-storey building, there are modern class-

10 Interview with the architect.

rooms, a library and rooms for guests, both on the second floor. The plan foresees a Museum of Islam here, as well.

The foundations of the building consist of two adjoining cubes that are characteristic for Volga Bulgar architecture. Polychrome painting prevails in the decoration of the exterior. The walls are painted a light ochre colour, while the windows, in Maghribi style, show dark ochre. The shades of ochre harmonize with the white and green colours used for the exterior. The wall niches are covered with white and light blue ceramic tiles. In the centre of the eastern cube rises the main minaret of the mosque, topped with a cupola. A big cupola with a diameter of 18 meters completes the other cube. Four octagonal minarets with high, cone-shaped roofs are placed at the four corners of the cube. The small minarets have galleries for the muezzin. These galleries are green in colour, which gives them the appearance of flower buds.

The interior decoration of the mosque was executed by a Turkish building company. In its splendour and luxury the Almetevsk mosque resembles mosques in Istanbul. The singular magnificence of the prayer hall is impressive. The walls of the hall and the space of the interior cupola are covered with ceramic tiles decorated with floral carvings. The Ottoman Turkish tulip and Qur'an texts are used in the decoration of the *mihrab*. Rectangular vertical panels with calligraphic elements are lined up along the walls of the hall. The ceiling of the prayer hall is also decorated with floral and geometrical motives filling rosettes of different forms. The floor is covered with Turkish carpets.

In November 1995, the President of the Republic of Tatarstan signed a decree concerning the reconstruction of the Kul Sharif Mosque in the Kazan Kremlin. According to historical legend, the Kul Sharif Mosque was the last stronghold of the defenders of Kazan in 1552. The process of the reconstruction of the Kremlin as a "Muslim sacred space" had begun before 1995. In 1993, the Syuyumbike tower was declared the minaret of the Khan Mosque (14th century) and adorned with a golden half moon.

In an appeal to the European Union, the President of Tatarstan, Shaimiev, expressed the idea that the reconstruction of the Kul Sharif Mosque in the Kazan Kremlin could signify the restoration of historical fairness and become a visual sign of balance between the two main confessional and ethnical cultures: Tatar and Russian.¹¹

The competition for the best architectural design for the Kul Sharif Mosque was announced in December 1995 by government decree. In February 1996, a memorial stone was placed at the site of a former cadet school. It symbolized the future mosque. The competition ended in May 1996. The architects, who took part in the competition, were expected to take into consideration the following aspects: The Kul

11 Khalitov, N.: Polemika vokrug rekonstruktsii mecheti Kul-Sharif v Kazan'skom kremle: politicheskie aspekty zashchity tatarskogo arkhitekturnogo naslediya. In: *Islam v tatarskom mire: istoriya i sovremennost'*. Kazan' 1997, p. 240.

Sharif mosque should become the main mosque of Tatarstan and a contemporary monument constructed in honour of the defenders of Kazan.

The winners of the competition, the architects I. Saifullin and S. Shakurov, planned a mosque with a central cupola and four small minarets on the corners, just like the 16th century mosque had looked. This basic plan is also characteristic for Volga Bulgar monuments. The architects included in their idea the legend of the eight-towered Kul Sharif mosque. The building has four additional minarets. They explain that “the sacred sign of the *Bismillah* underlying the ground plan assumes high significance, insofar as it equals a talisman and becomes an artistic image reflecting the common Muslim character”. The artistic imagery of the building also comprises the ancient Turkic symbol of rebirth – the tulip.¹²

In small towns of Tatarstan the reappearance of mosques with minarets on the roof can be observed. This type of mosque goes back to the local building tradition, including the traditional Tatar house. Only the minaret sets the mosque apart from other buildings and shows that it is a Muslim religious edifice. These country mosques are built of bricks or wood and are usually the result of collective work, the creation of a group of people living in the country. The interior and exterior decoration of such mosques is plain and modest.

National art provides Tatar painters and architects with rich material. Their creativity and imagination turns this material into a contemporary specimen of sacred art.

12 Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 250.

Islamic Symbols in the Artistic Culture of the Bashkirs¹

Zilya Imamutdinova

“Glorify the name of your Lord, the Most High;
Who created and fashioned well; [...]”²

“The ornament must make you happy; [...]”
it must bear the seal of the hand of God, expressed in His creation.”³

Islamic signs and symbols, manifesting themselves in the arts of the Muslims, are multifarious. This paper considers ornamentation as a universal feature of the Islamic mode of thinking. In the Islamic world, ornamentation is a supra-national feature, characterizing the entire civilization. In the present paper, the main attention is focused on the Volga-Ural region, *i.e.*, on the Eurasian region of Russia, where the ideas of Islam have been absorbed by the Turkic culture of the Tatars and the Bashkirs for more than a thousand years, transforming ethnic traditions and engendering specifically Islamic cultural “signs”.

Other researchers have examined similar manifestations of the ornamental principle in various spheres of Muslim culture. According to Ismail and L. Al-Farūqī, ornamentation is a common denominator for both the musical and the visual arts of the Islamic tradition.⁴ Niyazi Mekhdi, *e.g.*, focuses his attention on letters and the visual arts, treating ornamentation as a universal principle of Islamic culture, whose influence affects the social sphere as well. He discusses the “tracery” structure of life under *sharī‘a* law and concludes: “The parameters of ornamentation had a powerful influence upon the understanding of social experience.”⁵

The concept of an ornamental mode of thinking among the Muslims⁶ is applied in the present paper to visual arts and architecture, as well as to oral musical

1 Special Cyrillic signs in Bashkir are rendered, in a modified form, according to the transliteration schemes of the Library of Congress (*ALA-LC Romanization Tables: Transliteration Schemes for Non-Roman Scripts*. URL: <http://www.loc.gov/cardir/sps/roman.html>. Available: 14.01.2007): Ғ = gh, җ = dh, к = q, Һ = ng, Ө = ö, Ү = ü, Һ = һ, Ә = ä.

2 Qur’an: A Modern English Version. Translated by Majid Fakhry. Reading, UK, 1997; *sura* 87, verses 1–2, p. 407.

3 Rëskin, Dzh.: *Iskusstvo i deistvitel'nost'.* Per. s angl. O. M. Solov'evoi. Moskva, 1900, p. 252.

4 Al-Farūqī, I. and L.: *The Cultural Atlas of Islam*. New York 1986.

5 Mekhdi, N.: *Srednevekovoe musul'manskoe iskusstvo. Èstetika proyavlennoego i filosofiya sokrytogo*. Baky 1996, p. 135.

6 I have used the concept in question in my monograph and other papers, see Imamutdinova, Z. A.: *Istoriya kul'tury i ustnaya muzykal'naya traditsiya bashkirskogo naroda*. Manuscript. Moskva 1997; Imamutdinova Z. A.: *Kul'tura bashkir. Ustnaya muzykal'naya traditsiya ("Chtenie" Korana, fol'klor)*. Moskva 2000.

traditions and literature. This concept has something in common with the idea of a graphical mode of thinking introduced by Sh. M. Shukurov in his *Medieval Fine Arts of Iran (The Development of the Principles of Representation)*.⁷ According to Sh. M. Shukurov, ornamentation is an important artistic principle derived from some elements of the Arabic script.

The terms “ornamental pattern”, “ornamentation”, etc. refer especially to the idea of artistic representation of the principles of rhythm and repetition in connection with linear thinking. This may reveal itself in fine arts, as well as in literature and music. Ornamentation appears in different historical and cultural forms. It is not a purely Muslim phenomenon. In Islamic culture, however, the ornamental principle has penetrated into various arts and letters, so that we may speak of a specifically ornamental mode of thinking. In Islam, the all-embracing role of the ornamental principle was predetermined by the ban on the representation of images of living beings⁸ and, hence, by the propensity to adorn things. The Muslim tradition derives this from the Qur’anic text. The phenomenological qualities of the text proper of the Qur’an seem to be especially important.

The ornamental principles have been called into being by some other factors as well. Thus, the ritual *sūfī* practice (*dhikr*), founded on cyclic actions and reiterations, actualizes the idea of ornamental lengthening. The followers of the Nakshbandiyya order repeat “*asmā-i husna*” (the beautiful names of Allah) during their “silent” *dhikr*. The Qur’anic text (in Arabic) has established a special stylistic paradigm among different cultures both in Asia and in Europe. Thanks to the holy text, a framework was formed for the development of common traditions in *dār al-islām* (“the territory/world of Islam”) and, hence, of the Islamic civilization as a whole. At least until the end of the 19th century (*i.e.*, until the beginnings of the “Europeanizing” Jadidism), the Qur’anic *sūra* served as a model of writing for every Muslim. The problem of the reflection of the Holy Qur’an in Islamic culture has occupied the minds of Muslim scholars since the Middle Ages.

“Our Scripture, the Qur’an, is a source and a spring of the sciences, a sky, where the sun rises and sets. Allah, He is the most glorified, has placed the information about everything in it, and has explained all about the right path and the error. Every scholar draws upon it and rests on it.

A lawyer extracts the principles of law from it and infers what is allowed and what is forbidden. A grammarian constructs the rules of grammar and turns to it in order to know when an utterance is regular and when it is irregular. A rhetorician is guided by it in his study on the perfection of style and in his

7 Cf. Shukurov, Sh. M.: *Srednevekovoe izobrazitel'noe iskusstvo Irana (formirovanie printsipov izobrazitel'nosti)*. Moskva 1989.

8 The question whether the Qur’an bans images or not has been discussed by medieval theologians and in contemporary scholarship, cf. O. Grabar: *Art and Architecture and the Qur’ān*. In: *Encyclopaedia of the Qur’ān*. Leiden/Boston/Köln, vol. 1, A–D, 2001.

research into the ways of eloquence in adorning speech. And how many are the tales and legends, which the sagacious people consider, how many are the exhortations and parables, by which the thinking and sober-minded people direct themselves. How many are the various other sciences, the number of which can be counted only by Him, Who has the knowledge on all of them...”

This quotation is from the *tafsīr* “The Perfection in Qur’anic Studies”, written by the famous 15th century theologian and scholar Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūtī.⁹

The properties of the Qur’an were projected into the cultures of Muslims (including those living in the Volga-Ural region), re-creating themselves in specific forms of artistic self-expression.¹⁰ A distinctive system of genres arises,¹¹ characterized by specific themes and imagery (Qur’anic topics, including subjects and images of pre-Islamic Arabian and Biblical origin, e.g., Dhū l-Qarnayn or Iskander/Alexander of Macedonia and Yūsuf/Joseph), sharply defined expressive means (inclination to rhymed and rhythmic patterns, metaphors and symbols, extending also to numbers, e.g., the “7”), and an exceptional method of the representation of the beautiful by means of sound and letter.

Owing to the concept of *i’jāz* (“inimitability” of the Qur’an), the peculiarities of the Qur’anic text are considered standard for every art. The theme of the phenomenological peculiarities of the Qur’anic text is immense. In connection with the idea “the Qur’an is a miracle”, it has been developed by theologians since the 9th century. The tradition of describing the qualities of the Qur’anic *sūra*, verse, and syllable has established the basis for the concept of *i’jāz*.¹² Al-Suyūtī has quoted the notions of his predecessors about of the “inimitability” of the Qur’an in his *tafsīr* and concluded:

9 Cited in: Dzhahal ad-Din al-Suyuti: *Sovershenstvo v koranicheskikh naukakh*. Vyp. 1: *Uchenie o tolkovanii Korana*. Pers. s arab. D. V. Frolova. Moskva 2000, p. 28.

10 In contemporary foreign and Russian research, the problem in question is being explored on the basis of different arts and literatures. Cf. the work by O. Grabar, *op. cit.*; Shukurov, *op. cit.*; Al-Farūqī, I. and L., *op. cit.*; Khalidov, A. B.: *Arabskie rukopisi i arabskaya rukopisnaya traditsiya*. Moscow 1985; Sibëgetov, F. Sh.: *Bashkort ézëbiëtendë Korën motivtary*. Ofo 2001, and others. I have tried to summarize different forms of influence of the Qur’anic text upon Muslim cultures, in particular, upon those of the Tatars and Bashkirs of the Volga-Ural region, cf. Imamutdinova, Z. A.: *Koran kak stilevaya paradigma islamskoi kul’tury*. In: *Iskusstvo i émos: novye paradigmy. Materialy konferencii pamyati F. Valeeva*. Kazan’ 2001.

11 The image of the Prophet Muhammad has engendered such genres as *mawlūd*, *faḍā’il*, *sīra* of Muhammad, *mi’rāj-nāme*, later also didactic *munājāt* treating various subjects, and *shamail* – a kind of walldrawing.

12 In Russia these problems are studied by D. V. Frolov: Dzhahal ad-Din al-Suyuti. *Sovershenstvo v koranicheskikh naukakh*. Glava o nepodrazhaemosti Korana. Per. s arab., vst. i komm. In: *Narody Azii i Afriki*. Moskva 1987, № 2.

“Scholars held different opinions about the manifestations of the ‘inimitability’ of the Qur’an and said all kinds of true and wise things, but they didn’t comprehend even a one-hundredth part of it.”¹³

Let us dwell upon these peculiarities of the Qur’an that might be especially conducive to the development of ornamental principles. The Qur’an has exerted its influence on Muslim mentality and culture through every possible channel – as text, as script, ornamental design, and as music (prosody, cantillation). Hence, the Qur’anic text transmits the principles of ornamentality on various levels, thus securing their penetration into the very depths of thought. Variation and reiteration – and therefore ornamentation – reveal themselves in the Qur’anic imagery and style, as well as by means of the Qur’anic “letter” and “sound”. Repetition of words and subjects appears as an important “ornamental element of the Qur’anic prose”.¹⁴ The sacred text is unusual in many respects, in particular owing to the presence of more than 200 abrogated and abrogating *āyāt*. In view of this, the Qur’an explains:

“Every time when we abolish a verse or oblige to forget it, we replace it by a better one or by a similar one.” (*sūra* 2, “*Al-Baqarah*”, *āya* 106)¹⁵

The Qur’anic manner of multiple presentation of thought (reflected in the concept of abrogation) has stimulated the perception of a whole as a plurality in Islamic sciences (*e.g.*, the interpretation of *harf* in Arabic grammar) and variability as mode of thinking among the Muslims.

A different model operates in the case of epithets (“*asmā-i husna*” – “the names of Allah”), turning thoughts into movement by analogy in correlation with the synonymous progressive movement of rhythm. “The names of Allah”, used as epithets, *i.e.*, in the conclusions of *āyāt*, form a kind of rhyme of higher order and take part in the system of rhythmic organization in the Qur’an. The Qur’anic *āyāt* are based on the mobile correlation between rhythmically organized and unorganized sections. This gives the “impression of complex rhythmic ornament”.¹⁶

The rhythmically organized sections and the resulting parallelisms of words and syntactic structures (as well as some other peculiarities of the style of the Qur’an) have received their theoretical interpretation in *‘ilm al-balāgha* – the science of rhetoric developed by Arabic and Persian writers. Special stress is laid on the art of adorning speech and increasing the number of rhetoric figures. It is quite logical that the rhetoric speech figures based in the Qur’an on parallelism of words and syntactic segments are included into the category of *mahāsin* (beauties) in the medieval Muslim treatises. The variability of the Qur’anic text is reinforced by the

13 Frolov, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

14 Piotrovsky, M. B. (ed.): *Earthly Art, Heavenly Beauty. Art of Islam*. Amsterdam 1999, p. 40.

15 *Sura* 73 is a good example. Here, verse 20 abrogates the instructions on the length of night prayers, formulated in the preceding verses.

16 Ergelidze, N. A.: *Ritmicheskaya struktura Korana. Avtoreferat kand. diss.* Tbilisi 1990, p. 22.

peculiarities of its rhetoric and literary style, as well as by the special ornamental qualities in Qur'anic (Arabic) prosody and calligraphy.

The divine nature of the Word has determined the sanctity of the Qur'an as a manuscript. The Arabic script (as well as various forms of Qur'anic recitation) was developed in different Muslim centres. Some of the Qur'anic scripts were canonized (the ancient geometrical *kūfi* was replaced by the rounded *naskh*, *thuluth*, *nasta'liq*, etc.).¹⁷

Let us attempt to explain the psychology of the visual perception of the Qur'anic text. The Arabic in the Qur'an has a multi-layer graphical texture. While reading the Qur'anic lines, the look inevitably is fixed upon the centre (on the *harf* – the consonants) rather than upon the horizontal level and turns either upwards or downwards on the vowel signs and the marks of *al-tajwīd* (both are obligatory only in the Qur'anic text). Hence, the peculiar logic of the look has been established, according to which curves and wavy lines form sinuous configurations; a psychological basis for ornamental artistic self-expression is created by visual impressions.

The margin of the title-page, the headline of a *sūra*, the marks indicating the boundaries between *juz'* (one thirtieth part of the text) – all these parts of the manuscript can be ornamented. The sacred letters sometimes are scarcely recognizable among the ligatures of such ornaments. In the ornamental movement, the meanings are as if “encoded” and at the same time metaphorically interpreted by means of the language of graphical signs. The inimitability of style is connected with the inimitability of appearance. Floral motifs are used in combination with geometrical ornaments and “architectural” elements such as arches, columns, and rosettes.

Although for centuries the design of the Qur'an (as well as the practice of reciting the Qur'an) has followed the same principles, a situation of stylistic diversity has developed:

“The manuscripts of the Holy Book have absorbed the best features of the Arabic-Muslim book production whose area of dissemination is really immense. There is hardly any other book whose standard text may be adorned by figurative elements, typical, for example, for Coptic Egypt or Central Asia, Valencia or India, China or European baroque...”¹⁸ (Cf. fig. 1, 2.)

The principles of ornamentation were established also through the sounding word of the Qur'an. It is important to underline that its sounding, musical, all-pervading form is of prime importance. Musical intonation has become an important, inevitable element of cohesion in the text that represents a direct speech in a concrete situation of dialogue. This is conditioned by rhymes and regular rhythms in

17 Cf. Gruendler, B.: Arabic script. In: *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*. Leiden/Boston/Köln, vol. 1, A–D, 2001; Kazi Akhmed: *Traktat o kalligrafakh i khudozhnikakh. 1596 – 97/1005. Vved., per. i komm. B. N. Zahodera*. Moskva/Leningrad 1947.

18 Rezvan, E. A.: *Koran i ego tolkovaniya (teksty, perevody, kommentarii)*. Sankt Peterburg 2000, p. 31.

the Qur'an. What is more, theologians and the ordinary faithful generally believe that the recitation of the Qur'an must be performed by way of melodic intonation. This is to be seen in connection with a particular position of music in Islam and a psychological inclination to perceive tone as timbre rather than as pitch.

The peculiarities of the Qur'anic prosody demand particular attention. Here, I will confine myself to only a few theses. The manner of recitation of the Qur'anic *sūra* and *āyāt* depends on several factors, such as the specificity of the Arabic language, the rules of *al-tajwīd*, the musical skills and the professional level of the reciter (*qāri'*), the function of the recitation in the mosque, and the function of the worship as a whole (during Ramadan, for example, a fast tempo is used) and, finally, the peculiarities of the traditions of secular and folk music in various regions of the Islamic world. In the Volga-Ural region, the ritual cantillation (including that practised by ordinary believers) represents an example of ornamental development. While in Central Asia the style of Qur'anic recitation was strongly influenced by the tradition of *maqāmāt*, Bashkirs and Tatars have adopted the expressive features of *ozon-kyui* (a form of improvised folk music), which include marked contrasts between longer and shorter notes, variation of motive, elements of the pentatonic mode, and a specific ornamental outline.

The existence of seven permissible versions of reciting the Qur'anic text was of special significance. These versions, reproducing the traditions of Mecca, Medina, Basra, and Kufa, can be traced back to the companions of the Prophet who had settled in these towns. It must be said, however, that only two traditions of recitation were widely practiced: the Kufi tradition of the *qāri'* 'Asim (d. 744) as transmitted by Hafs (d. 805), and the less important Medina tradition of al-Nāfi' (d. 685) as transmitted by Varsh (d. 812). The latter tradition still exists in North Africa.

Let us dwell upon the *harf* nature of the Arabic language that is closely related to the ornamental qualities of the Qur'anic cantillation. The theory of *harf*, worked out by Halīl b. Ahmad in the 8th century, is said to be the generating factor behind some characteristics of both the Qur'anic prosody and (subsequently) the musical traditions in the Islamic world.¹⁹ According to the *harf* rules of joining Arabic words, the word ceases to be an independent unit of articulation and syntax; instead, a stream of words comes into being, divided irregularly in accordance with word combinations. The same can be applied to graphics. The division of speech still remains partly detached from the borders between words.

The way of sequencing is supported also by a musically inclined performance introducing a musical logic with its own forms. At the same time, the musical performance develops the principle of free enunciation of text. In the Qur'an, there are no "melodic" signs (there are no musical terms in *al-tajwīd* treatises, either). Yet, the graphical signs indicating the prolongation of phonemes are charged with a certain

19 These peculiarities of Arabic were analyzed by D. V. Frolov who has revealed their role in the development of the 'arūd versification system, cf. Dmitry Frolov: *Classical Arabic Verse: History and Theory of 'Arūd*. Leiden 2000.

musical sense. In Arabic, consonants and vowels must be equal in duration which is expressed by the unit named *haraka*. According to *al-tajwīd*, in Qur'anic recitation, vowels have to be extended up to six *haraka*, while consonants up to three *haraka*. In musical performances such points correspond to larger melodic turns. Here, ornamental musical rhetoric formulae may reveal themselves.

The system of rhetorical and musical formulae played a special role in strengthening the ornamental principle and in forming the ornamental mode of thinking. Yet, the complex theme of "musical Islamic rhetoric" is not considered in contemporary scholarship. Here I would like merely to introduce the concepts of "musical Islamic rhetoric" and "Qur'anic rhetorical and musical figures".²⁰ In the Qur'an, the function of such figures is accomplished by melodic formulae having distinctive expressive characteristics, either related to some specific word combination or independent from the text. The melodic formulae are both steady and variable in their sounding. Like the rhetoric figures of verbal speech, the Qur'anic musical rhetoric figures can be divided into semantic ones, adorning (ornamental) ones, and those combining these two functions ('the beautiful names' of Allah). The Qur'anic musical rhetorical figures are classified by musical parameters; the formulae reflect the stylistic peculiarities of the Qur'anic reading in each tradition.

The emerging musical meanings supplement the Qur'anic word and "comment" on it in their own way. The musical formulae are drawn into a system of textual reiterations, creating a specific system of connections, intensifying or weakening the effect of the continuous rhymes. Such a movement of musical rhetoric formulae creates a new level of meaning, introducing peculiar ornamental features into the Arabic prosody and embodying the idea of "inimitability" of the Qur'an in sound.

In the Islamic world, including the Volga-Ural region, a specific ornamental mode of thinking has developed. It reveals itself in various realms of Muslim culture, such as worship recitation, calligraphy, applied arts, architecture, music, and literature. The ornamental mode of thinking has become an evident feature of Islamic rhetoric.

Calligraphy is the most obvious manifestation of the ornamental principle. Mosques were decorated with Arabic ligatures; tomb-stones, objects of everyday use, and jewels were consecrated by prayer formulae. Even flowers were planted in the shape of word outlines in the gardens of the caliphs.²¹ The *shamail* known in the Volga-Ural region abound in Arabic ligatures. Some museums in Ufa and St. Petersburg have collections of objects dating from the 18th, 19th, and the beginning of the 20th centuries:²² handmade wood and leather goods, curtains (*sharshau*), clothes

20 I am working on a monograph on *The Musical and Rhetoric Principles in the Tradition of Qur'anic "Reading"* with the financial support of the Russian Humanitarian Scientific Fond (Project No. 02-04-00382a).

21 Mets, A. : *Musul'manskii renessans*. Moskva 1973, p. 309.

22 Loiko, L.: The Influence of Islam on the Traditional Arts and Crafts of the Muslim Peoples from the Volga Region (Bashkirs and Tatars). In: *Islamic Art Resources in Central Asia and Eastern Central Europe. Proceedings of the Fifth International Seminar on Islamic Art and*

(women's breast collars), head-dress (men's skull-caps, velvet caps of the Bashkir, and *kalfak* of the Tatar women), *namazlyk* (prayer rugs), *shamail*, amulets, back pendants of the Bashkir brides, jewels, all decorated by ornamental patterns, and Arabic calligraphy (cf. fig. 3, 4).

The peculiarities of the ornamental principles in the applied arts of the Bashkirs are largely determined by pre-Islamic sources, including the Sarmatian "animal style" and also runic script and *tamgha* – the generic signs connected successively with it. As a result, geometrical forms of ornamentation are widespread in Bashkir culture.²³

According to Sh. M. Shukurov, in the consciousness of Muslims the floral motifs have turned into a metaphor of "paradise, salvation, and the ideal community of true believers".²⁴ The expansion of floral forms in the Bashkir culture is often considered a result of the influence of the Tatar, Iranian, and Central Asian ornamental traditions. By the way, in contrast to Central Asia, the tendency to fill up all empty spaces with decorations is as pronounced in both the Bashkir and Tatar cultures.²⁵ Within the original Bashkir art, six ornamental complexes reflecting different cultural influences (those of various Asian and Finno-Ugric cultures, as well as of Turkic nomads) have been found.²⁶ The combination of various forms of ornamentation is used in the design of every book written in Arabic characters.²⁷ Kazan University had its own school of calligraphy. The printed Kazan Qur'ans (some of them included all seven versions of recitation) were also known in Europe in the 19th century.²⁸

The manifestations of the ornamental principle in graphics and in letters are combined in the musical tradition. The image of monody can be metaphorically described as an ornamental pattern. The specificity of eastern monody has been largely defined by ritual cantillation. Thus, the *harf* theory appears as an important factor determining the specificity of the verbal (Arabic) and musical cultures of the Muslims.²⁹ This is elaborated, in particular, in the "Great Music Treatise" by

Architecture. Al al-Bayt University-Mafraq. 9–24 April, 1996. Mafraq (Jordan), 2000, pp. 196 – 197.

23 Rudenko, S. I.: *Bashkiry: istoriko-étnograficheskie ocherki*. Moskva/Leningrad 1955.

24 Shukurov, Sh. M.: O ponimanií stilya v kul'ture Islama (K probleme ikonografii stilya). In: *Teoriya stilya v literature Vostoka. Sbornik statei*. Moskva 1995, p. 216.

25 The so-called "horror vacui" as an artistic principle of Islamic art was considered, for example, by E. Baer: *Islamic Ornament*. New York 1998, p. 126.

26 Avizhanskii, S. A., Bikbulatova, N. V., Kuzeev, R. G.: *Dekorativno-prikladnoe iskusstvo bashkir*. Ufa, 1964; *Bashkiry. Étnicheskaya istoriya i traditsionnaya kul'tura*. Ufa 2002.

27 Cf. some examples of ornamentation from Bashkir manuscripts and early printed books in: *Ornamenty rukopisnykh i staropechatnykh knig Bashkortostana. Al'bom*. Sostaviteli: G. B. Husainov, I. G. Galyautdinov. Ufa 2001.

28 Cf. the work by E. A. Rezman (note 18).

29 This concept is elaborated in my dissertation, cf. Imamutdinova, Z.: *Istoriya kul'tury i ustnaya muzykal'naya tradiciya bashkirskogo naroda*. Unpublished manuscript, Moskva 1997.

al-Farābī (10th century).³⁰ Variability and ornamentation are the leading principles in the musical traditions of the East, notably in the improvised forms of professional oral music (*maqāmāt*) of Central Asia and the Near East. In the Volga-Ural region, the early forms of *maqāmāt* were destroyed after the Russian conquest in the 16th century. The principles of variability and ornamentation were absorbed by Tatar and Bashkir folklore represented, in particular, by the improvised genre and stylistic type known as *ozon-kyui*.

Bashkir and Tatar folk music reflects some important structural principles of the Qur'anic texts, such as free distribution of caesuras, inequality of periods, and multiple variability. The large-range melodies of *ozon-kyui* (up to 2–2,5 octaves) absorb recitative fragments; consonants (“m”, “l”, “n”, as well as “y”, which is treated also as consonant in Arabic) are used side by side with vowels in phonic function, being prolonged in conformity with the *al-tajwīd* rules in Qur'an recitation.

The type of ornamentality in monody (*ozon-kyui*) is determined by spatial disposition. Many tunes have an undulating configuration and, at the same time, are directed ‘diagonally’, from a higher register to a lower one. In *ozon-kyui*, the approaches to basic long notes, as well as to the culminations and endings, are highly ornamented. Hence, the ornamented movement is related to some important parts of composition (cf. fig. 5, 6). Thus, the functions of ornamentation in music are largely equivalent to the constructive purpose of ornament in graphics and script.

In Islamic literature, the ornamentation principle is related to the phenomenon of “ornamental prose”. In the Volga-Ural region, the latter is represented especially by the handwritten version of the “Bakhtiyār-nāme”. The factor of ornamentality in literature may reveal itself on different levels through “adorning” the text in a broad sense – *i.e.*, through versified insertions, “threading” of tropes (metaphors, comparisons) and events, creating their own patterns within the subject matter itself. G. E. von Grunebaum explains this as “constant aspiration to refinement and ornamentation of statement”.³¹ The literature of the East is remarkable, in particular, for its veneration of the word; the law of compensation enters into effect in culture. The art of painting images of the perceptible world (human faces, animals) by brush is replaced by the art of drawing with a pen, *i.e.*, the art of detailed and lengthy “painting” by means of words and syllables.³²

Further, the use of rhyme and rhythmic patterns appears as a method leading to ornamentation in literary forms. Since the Qur'anic texts are partly rhymed and have definite rhythmic patterns (based on the archaic poetic form *saj'*), they have

30 Daukeeva, S. D.: “*Bol'shaya kniga muzyki*” *Aby Nasra Muhammada ben Muhammada ben Tarkhana al-Farabi*. Kand. diss. Moskva 2000, vols I, II.

31 Gryunebaum, G. É. fon: *Osnovnye cherty arabo-musul'manskoi kul'tury*. Moskva 1981, p. 162.

32 The arts of Iran and Turkey show many examples of the painting of humans and even of the prophet. Cf. the miniatures illustrating the *mathnawi* “Yūsuf and Zuleikha” by Jāmī, dated 1580 (Uzbekistan, cf.: Veimarn, B. V.: *Iskusstvo arabskikh stran i Irana VII–XVII v.* Moskva, 1974) and “Sīra of the Prophet Muhammad” (16th century, Turkey, cf.: Stierlin, H.: *Islam. Vol. I. Les origines, de Bagdad à Cordoue*. Köln 1996).

intensified the disposition to versification among the Muslim peoples. Numerous theological treatises (including those on *al-tajwīd*, Qur'an recitation) and secular works (for instance, the works by Avicenna known among the peoples of the Volga-Ural region) are written in distichs (*bayt*). Even the titles were given a rhymed form. Significantly, verse forms were used by the Jadidists in the Volga-Ural region. For example, R. Fahrutdinov commented in verse upon 318 *hadith* from “*Jāmi‘ al-saghīr*” by al-Suyūtī, while G. Barudi wrote in *bayt* a Jadidist manual on reciting the Qur'an.³³

This tradition was adopted by the Tatars and Bashkirs. Moreover, one of the genres of Tatar and Bashkir folklore was termed *bayt* according to its musical and poetic form. Characteristically, in some folklore versions of the popular “*Qissa-i Yūsuf*”, Kul Gali starts with rhythmic patterns typical of the late Qur'anic style. This creates an effect of ornamentation on the phonetic level.³⁴

Yaqup päighämbärdheng ike qatynynan un ike uly bulghan.
Räkhilä tigän qatynynan tyghan kese uly Iosof isemle ikän
Byl ulyñ Yaqup päighämbär bütändärenä qaraghanda nyghyryk yaratqan.
Shul Iosof ughlan ber saq tösh qürgän.
Töshön atahynga hoiläp birgän.

Yakup the prophet had from two wives twelve sons.
 From Rakhil, his wife, Yusuf was born, the youngest son.
 Yakup the prophet loved this son more than others,
 Once Yusuf had a dream. He asked about it his father.

In his recent poetic translation of the Qur'an into Bashkir, M. Yamaletdinov used rhymes and rhythmic patterns in accordance with the style of the Qur'anic *sūra*. This can be shown on the example of the *fātiha*, the opening *sūra* of the Qur'an:

Fātiha
Alla isemdäre menän
Byl ghämälde bashlaiym,
Böiök räkhmät üä shäfqätkä
Ömötömdö baghlaiym.

Barsa maqtau ber Allagha – Ul ghalämdär khuzhahy;
 Sikhedh räkhmät häm märkhämät bütän kemgä khas taghy?
 Ul kiämät könönöng dä berzhän-ber padishahy.
 Äi, Alla, tik hineng alda bez gibädhät qylabyz,
 hineng genä yardhamyna yalbaryshyp qalabyz:

33 Safiullina, R.: *Arabskaya kniga v dukhovnoi kul'ture tatarskogo naroda*. Kazan', 2003.

34 Cf.: Bashkirskie varianty poëmy “Kissai Iusuf”. In: *Vatandosh (Sovremennik)*. Ufa 1997, № 6, p. 94. N. Gumerova has recorded this poem from G. Gumerova (b. 1886) in Ufa, 1997 (emphasis in the text: Z. Imamutdinova).

Kürhät bedhgä tura yuldy, khaqlyq yulyna **künder**,
Üdhen yaratqan höiöklö ädhäm rätenä **inder**,
Näfrätendä alghandardhy khata yulynan **dünder**.
Amin.³⁵

35 *Korën. M. Yamaletdindyn shigri tärzhemèlere*. Ofo 2002 (emphasis in the text: Z. Imamutdinova).

Northern Caucasus

The Role of Political Caricature in the Cultural Development of the Meskhetian (Ahiska) Turks

Fuad Pepinov

The Meskhetian Turks (*Ahiska Türkleri*) used to live scattered amongst the Georgian population in the south of Georgia. From the beginning of the 19th century, they had to change their citizenship from the Ottoman Empire to the Russian autocracy and later on to the Soviet regime. The Meskhetian Turks have always been influenced by the different cultures present in this particular region.

These circumstances induced the local elites to adopt some of the elements of new alien cultures. Each time, under the conditions of unavoidable modernization of cultural traditions of the nation, there was a crisis of cultural identity that needed to be overcome. Cultural adaptation meant the necessity to search and choose new indicators in the surrounding world that would not eliminate the values of the nation.

During the 20th century, Meskhetian Turks experienced even stronger changes in their environment. The Russian Empire had changed into the Soviet one. The Meskhetian Turks became victims of Soviet ideology according to which some nations were perceived as superfluous on their lands and were deported “forever” (as it was stated in official documents) to other republics of the Soviet Union.

It is worthwhile to point out that the history of the fate of the Meskhetian Turks in the 20th century can be presented as an experiment, which took place in the real world and concerned the whole nation. This example can be used to study the physical and cultural mechanisms of survival after unforeseen, catastrophic historical changes in the world. A crisis of cultural identity is an inevitable consequence of such cultural cataclysms. Such a crisis had to be overcome if the identity of the people was to be preserved.

As the ethnic identity of the Meskhetian Turks is realized in the frame of the Turkic cultural model, the historical examples of the survival of the Meskhetian Turks and their self-preservation might be very interesting for different aspects of research on the cultural model in general. Here we can observe different modes of stabilization and preservation of the main characteristics of cultural life such as religion, language, visual traditions, musical preferences, social values, and ideological views in conditions of intense changes of environment.

For centuries, the majority of the Meskhetian Turks had been bilingual, and the Georgian language was used to the same extent as the mother tongue. Because of this fact, many discussions and debates took place in academic and political publications concerning the origin of this particular ethnic group. After the deportation from

Georgia, the Meskhetian Turks lost their knowledge of the Georgian language. Despite various small assimilations of the mother tongue, it nevertheless remained essentially the same in the different regions of exile (Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Siberia).

Another attractive and remarkable feature is the devotion of the Meskhetian Turks to visual traditions in material culture, *e.g.*, the domestic interior, and particularly, clothing. Deported from their main place of residence over 60 years ago, dispersed over the entire territory of the former Soviet Union after the Ferghana events in 1989, the Meskhetian Turks have expressed an amazingly unchanged taste in the decoration of their homes. In this regard, the preservation of visual traditions had its own place and in fact it is the most noticeable feature of the Turkic cultural model in general. It had its impact on the planning of cities, on architectural monuments, carpets, interior, and on clothes. Recent research confirms that the principles of Turkic visual culture are universal for other communities of Turkic culture as well.¹

The Meskhetian Turks, who lived in the south of Georgia before the deportation in 1944, have constantly been in contact with the two main civilizations in the region: the Christian one, represented by Russia and Georgia, and the traditional Islamic civilization.

Russian colonial policy towards the Muslim population in the Akhaltsikh region has doubtlessly transformed the existing system of social status and values. The position and influence of the traditional local Muslim clerics decreased significantly. By the beginning of the 20th century, the Muslim community of this region practically no longer participated in the politics of the time. This situation led to the formation of an *intelligentsia*, which had to concentrate on the problem of correlating borrowed elements in practical life with their own world view and fundamental religious values. The process of adaptation and integration in a strict traditional society required new means of communication in order to spread new ideas, ideals, and social values. Such instruments were the theatre and the press. The press, in particular, became more significant as a means for spreading news, ideas, and concepts.

Doubtlessly the most important event in the public life of the Turkic speaking Caucasus was the publication of the satirical magazine *Molla Nasreddin*² (fig. 1, 2) founded in Tbilisi in 1906 by the journalist Omar Faik Neimanzade, a Meskhetian Turk from Akhaltsikh, and the Azeri writer Dzhalil Mamedulizade.

The magazine had amazing success and quickly became well known outside the region, all over the Turkic speaking Caucasus. Apart from the remarkable political journalism and social commitment of the magazine, the work of the participating artists, in particular, led to an even greater popularity among the general public, including the less or non-educated strata of the population. The journal published

1 Mamedova 2002.

2 Molla Nasreddin 1988, 1996.

mainly the works of two talented illustrators and cartoonists, O. Schmerling and D. Rotter, descendants of ethnic Germans living in the Caucasus. Their pictures, published in each edition of the journal *Molla Nasreddin*, communicated the views of their authors so clearly that there was no need for further commenting on these pictures.

The cartoons and pictures by O. Schmerling and D. Rotter brought genuine delight to the audience of that time, which included all classes of society. To this day, they are of great interest and their high artistic level and picturesque style evokes admiration.

The readers of the magazine came from very different backgrounds. It was addressed not only to the well-educated members of society but also to a much wider audience, which had their own interest in the magazine. The large number of illustrations and cartoons were a good instrument to attract non-educated readers. Frequently, the cartoons thematically related to satirical articles and intelligently illustrated the ideas put forward. In this way, they provoked an immediate reaction from the readers, who paid attention more to illustrations and cartoons rather than the content of the articles. Along with relatively complex graphical compositions full of details and refined hints, some sharp and simpler cartoons were needed that could promote the authors' ideas in a subtler way. D. Rotter was a specialist of the first type of cartoons, while Schmerling was a master in the second type.

Schmerling rarely used sketches and he did not get into details very much. Deliberate exaggerations, the grotesque, and disproportions were characteristic for his cartoons. Rotter's works differed insofar as he first made sketch illustrations. His graphical works were more sophisticated, refined, detailed, and varied in style. Rotter's aim was to bring a psychological element to his cartoons.

The magnificent works of satirical graphics by these ethnic German artists are perceived as examples of original national art in Azerbaijan and in all Turkic parts of the Caucasus.

The success of the journal *Molla Nasreddin* surpassed all expectations. The remarkable talent of the authors of the magazine (writers and artists alike) provoked sincere interest and attention from all Turkic communities, from Istanbul to Kazan. However, the main reasons for the success of the journal were its political views, philosophy, and the concept of the magazine that dealt with actual and sensitive subjects such as national identity, culture, and the social situation of society. The popularity of the magazine and its great feedback, the comments on the articles and cartoons in the social and political atmosphere of that time, confirms the contribution and remarkable role of the magazine in the process of cultural-political adaptation in this region of the Caucasus.

Nowadays, it is difficult to evaluate the role and importance of the magazine in the public life of the Muslim East. According to the feedback, the popularity of the magazine, the discussions and debates on current issues in *Molla Nasreddin* by the authors found a lot of reaction from the intelligentsia and other classes of society as well.

A constructive analysis of the publications and cartoons could lead to insights about the ideological views of the magazine's team of publishers. It tried to promote the decidedly positive sides of the European model of a social and political system. It underlined the role of culture and education in the formation of national identity and the absolute priority of individuality as a principal achievement in modern West European history, which should serve as a good example and right direction for all Turkic peoples.

There was a strong and noticeable difference between European liberal values and the realities of Russian autocracy. The journal *Molla Nasreddin* tried to present a realistic, critical view of the backwardness of the people in the region, on one side, and also of the Russian claims and pretensions to promote "civilization", on the other side. The latter became a main topic of the magazine *Molla Nasreddin*. In the process of disseminating contemporary ideas and values, the magazine suggested a differentiation of the surrounding world not per religious criteria, but per socio-psychological standards (fig. 3–5).

It was a period of introducing new ideas into society, such as an alternative to the traditional Islamic system of learning – a reformed Islamic educational system, based on the mother tongue (Turkic) – and also of building all government educational institutions on the mother tongue. The intelligentsia paid the greatest attention to the last point of the widely known slogan of that historical period "Turkification, Islamification, Europeanization". Europeanization was perceived as one of the most important and necessary prerequisites for the progress of the Turkic nations.³

The attempts at a cultural adaptation of the Meskhetian Turks have been painful and difficult, but somehow quite successful. In the first half of the 20th century, there were many famous political and public figures in the Caucasus who actually were Meskhetian Turks by origin. However, the ideas of liberalism and democracy, promoted by the magazine *Molla Nasreddin*, were not able to overcome the negative influences of the entrenched system of serfdom dominating the way of life of the Caucasian peoples.

In 1944, all attempts at cultural adaptation came to an end after the deportation of the entire population of Meskhetian Turks. Following the decision by Stalin to relocate the Meskhetian Turks permanently in concentration camps, the Meskhetian Turks were only concerned with their physical survival. Despite all tragic consequences, the Meskhetian Turks were able to get accustomed to local conditions in their places of exile, with, to be sure, a completely different result pointing to a different new era.

3 Pepinov 2001.

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Modern Islamic Art of the Karachais and Balkars (Northern Caucasus)¹

Swietłana Czerwonnaja

The appearance and development of the artistic phenomenon which can be called “modern Islamic art” of the Muslim peoples of Russia, took place at the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s. It is linked with general processes of the so-called “spiritual and religious renaissance”. During the last fifteen years, unbelievers have come back to the faith, while entire nations, forcibly separated from their religion during the years of totalitarian regimes with a militant atheistic orientation, have been caught up in a whirl of “religious revival”.

This global process also directly affects the Muslims of Russia – the “forgotten Muslims”², as foreign sovietologists did not cease to remind the general public in the time of Communist dictatorship, since they saw in them powerful reserves for resistance. Although they were split into different groups under the influence of ethnic factors, historical traditions, and geographical distances, the Muslim world of Russia can be considered a uniform phenomenon on the basis of several parameters, such as faith (Sunni Islam, mainly of the Hanafi *madhhab*), culture, stereotypes of worldview, and other characteristics. This phenomenon certainly deserves the special attention of the humanities and social sciences, including history, due to its scale and its existence for many centuries,³ as well as the revival processes during the last years.

The renaissance of Islam also includes the revival of Islamic art. In contrast to other religions, which depend on temple architecture and the support of a certain volume of art work⁴, Islam can theoretically develop under any condition on the

1 This article is based on fieldwork in the republics of Karachaevo-Cherkessiya and Kabardino-Balkariya, 1990–2000.

2 A. Bennigsen and Ch. Lemerrier-Quellejey. *Les musulmans oubliés. L'Islam en URSS aujourd'hui*. Paris, 1981.

3 One should consider the fact that the contacts of the medieval empires and inhabitants of the Eurasian steppes (the Khazar kaghanate, the Alan kingdom, the nomads of Desht-i Kypchak) with the young Islamic civilization and the extension of Muslim influence in the Eurasian zone (presently the territory of the Russian Federation), in particular to the North Caucasus, date back to the 8th–10th centuries AD. More intense processes of Islamization of the Turkic peoples took place in the cultural sphere of the Golden Horde, especially in the course of the 14th century.

4 E.g., Buddhist sculpture, Christian Orthodox icons, altarpieces of Catholic cathedrals, and others.

basis of this principle: “a mosque – the entire world”. Nevertheless, modern religious practice of Islam demands certain sacral equipment and design, the production of which becomes the realm not only of a number of branches of the decorative and applied arts, but also of the graphic and calligraphic arts and book publishing. Islam requires the artistic embodiment of the most important symbols and signs of faith, which confirms and strengthens its prestige and its right to exist among the other confessions recognized in Russia. This prestige and this right are connected to the visual images of majestic constructions of a religious character.

In practice, however, Islamic art in Russia still does not have a field wide enough for its development or for the reproduction of both ancient and new traditions, since the special educational institutions or professional schools of Islamic art that are needed for this purpose are currently lacking in Russia. Nor are there stable conditions for masters of this art who might work out modern artistic concepts in agreement with the tasks and demands of Islam as an actively practiced religion in all spheres of creative work, genres, forms of arts and commonly used material.

The most important components of the “Islamic world” in the contemporary artistic culture of the Russian Federation include the following:

- 1) Construction, reconstruction, and restoration of mosques; the gradual development of new architectural and artistic concepts of the modern mosque;
- 2) The art of Muslim epigraphy, modern Muslim cemeteries, forms of gravestones, their graphical décor and literary epitaphs;
- 3) Calligraphic design (*shamail* and *tuğra*); perspectives linked to the revival and development of Arabic calligraphy in graphic arts and painting; modern Islamic popular print;
- 4) “Muslim artistic avant-garde”;
- 5) Islamic subjects in traditional applied art, such as the poetics of the “native home”; aspirations reflecting the great historical past and the perception of the dramatic character of the historical fate of the Muslim peoples in Russia mirrored in modern professional art.

These directions are only partially represented in the art of a group of mountain peoples in the Northern Caucasus, mainly, the Karachais and the Balkars.⁵

In the republics of Karachaevo-Cherkessiya and Kabardino-Balkariya, mosques are being built in large numbers.⁶ Yet, in most cases, they are ready-made foreign imports, as Turkish or Arab sponsors send entire construction teams, who build mosques according to their own drafts and return home, leaving the local population merely with memories that a certain mosque has been built “by the Turks” or “by the

5 The Karachais and Balkars belong to those peoples of the Caucasus that were exposed to the Stalinist deportations in 1943 (Karachais) and in 1944 (Balkars). Until today, they have not forgotten this national tragedy.

6 Our fieldwork between 1998 and 2000 allowed us to identify several hundred mosques in a comparatively small territory of the central part of the Northern Caucasus – in Kabardino-Balkariya and Karachaevo-Cherkessiya – constructed in the course of the 1990s. The diaries with measurements and descriptions of the mosques are in the private archive of the author.

Arabs". In such instances, original creative approaches that would deserve a place (even the most modest one) in the history of local art and architecture are scarce. Exceptions from this rule are so rare⁷ that they do not allow tracking more or less well-defined artistic trends in this sphere of regional architecture. This distinguishes the local situation from that in Tatarstan, where highly professional architects with original and creative thinking have shown their talent⁸, or from the situation in Daghestan, where traditions of construction and décor of stone and woodwork mosques and their active functioning were not interrupted, one can say, during the 20th century.

The cemeteries of the Karachai and the Balkar show many examples of original new gravestones, in which ancient Muslim traditions harmonize and are linked in a characteristic way with new forms of artistic expression that distinguish the monumental and memorial art of the 20th century, and with modern interpretative motives and texts. An example of a recently constructed memorial in the cemetery of the village of Verkhniĭ Chegem in the Chegemskii region of the Kabardino-Balkariyan republic⁹, dedicated to the Galiev brothers (d. 1942), serves as evidence of the interesting work in this sphere. This memorial consists of four vertical stone-plates, crowned by round end-pieces with relief drawings of vegetal and astral motives or rosettes.

But complex ethnographic and fine arts' research of modern Balkar and Karachai cemeteries has not been carried out yet or rather, has been extremely limited and preliminary in character and scope. Even the modern epigraphy of the neighbouring Nogai steppe¹⁰ has been studied much more thoroughly and, as a result, a considerable literature has been published.¹¹ As for the development of the traditions of

7 E.g., a majestic friday mosque (*djami*) in the village of Uchkeken (Malokarachaevskii district), built in 1995; a friday mosque with a cupola in the urban settlement of Ust'-Zhegut, built in 1998 (both in Karachaevo-Cherkessiya); a snow-white mosque with two high minarets in the village of Verkhnyaya Balkariya in the district of Cherkessk, built in 1996 (in Kabardino-Balkariya).

8 Igor' Tazhiev – architect of the "Mosque of the Martyrs" at the Poklonnaya Gora in Moscow and the entire complex of the Islamic centre in the Nizhegorodskaya oblast'; M. Basyrov, whose project was used in constructing the "Täubä" (Repentance) Mosque in Naberezhnye Chelny; the team of authors responsible for the construction of the "Kul-Sharif" Mosque in the Kazan Kremlin'.

9 For more details on this memorial, see: S. M. Chervonnaya, *Tyurkskii mir v tsentre Severnogo Kavkaza. Paradoksy étnicheskoi mobilizatsii*. Moscow: Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 1999; S. M. Chervonnaya, *Vse nashi bogi s nami i dlya nas*. Moscow: Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 1999, p. 167.

10 Including also monuments of the Khadyge-Abzyl'skii region of Karachaevo-Cherkessiya, Neftekumskii and Minvodovskii regions of the Stavropol' territory, Nogaiskii region of Daghestan, and the Astrakhan province.

11 Cf. V. Korenyako. Nogaitsy. Step' i narod. In: *Evrasiya. Narody, kul'tury, religii*, 1996, no. 1 (4), pp. 30–34; Ramazan Kereitov and Svetlana Chervonnaya. Épigrafiĭka Nogaiskoi stepi. In: *Tatarskaya arkheologiya*. Kazan', 2004, nos. 1–2 (10–12), pp. 168–209.

Muslim gravestones (*kab'tash*, *basyktash*, *tekil'tash*), it can be said that, for instance, the Crimean initiatives¹² so much surpass those in the Northern Caucasus that it is difficult to talk about serious modern achievements there.

Shamail and *tuğra*, in the form and character of individual masterpieces that appear in the modern mass handicraft and artistic production of the Kazan Tatars (and in some central Islamic cultural areas such as Turkey, Egypt, and Tunisia) simply do not exist among the Karachais and the Balkars, nor among the Muslim Kabardinians, Cherkess, Abazes, Adygeis, and other peoples of the central zone of the Northern Caucasus.

Concerning the phenomenon we termed “modern art” or the “Muslim avant-garde”, the situation in the republics of Kabardino-Balkariya and Karachaevo-Cherkessiya is difficult. In these republics, one simply will not find something comparable, *e.g.*, to the creations of the group of artists in Ufa (Bashkortostan) known as “Chingiskhan”, whose bold innovations are inseparable from the Islamic “spirit” (Islamic mythology, traditions of the Prophet Muhammad, and Qur’anic verses) and have been of exciting aesthetic interest worldwide since the beginning of the 1990s. The above-mentioned republics also do not have such masters of avant-garde art as do the Crimean Tatars, like the brilliant Ramazan Useinov, Mamut Churlu, and others, who show their talent in painting, graphical imagery, bold installations, and performances.

The most significant field of Islamic art where many talented artists of Kabardino-Balkariya and Karachaevo-Cherkessiya successfully work today is politically engaged art. It is based on the realistic system of artistic expressiveness, organically embracing different forms of expression, satire, manifestation of a free imagination, a combination of realistic and legendary motives, and a whole range of feelings.

In this paper we would like to present several distinctive examples of this modern art that is permeated with an Islamic worldview.

The work of the Karachai painter Dadash Blimgotov (b. 1949) is a most revealing example. His works of the early 1990s are both characterized by journalistic qualities and the harsh logic of setting kind and pious principles against hostile forces. The programmatic historical picture of Blimgotov “The Black Day” (1993), created for the 50th anniversary of the Karachai people’s mournful date of deportation, is especially expressive in this respect (fig. 1). The interior of a Karachai house, into which unbidden guests (two armed soldiers and an officer of the NKVD) intrude, assumes a specific dramatic expression in the nocturnal light with sharp contrasts of subdued black shadows and details, intensively brightened by the flickering light of a flame. At the same time, all things kind and worthy are embodied in the images of the Karachai inhabitants (an old grey-beard, a woman with a child anxiously cuddling up to her), in the objects of their modest but beautiful surroundings where every item (from a cup on the table to a silvery

12 *E.g.*, the memorial dedicated to the most prominent figures of Crimean Tatar culture in the ensemble of constructions adjacent to the medieval Zinjirli Madrasa in Bakhchesaray.

woollen shawl, tied around the head of the woman with a complex knot) signals a stable and sensible tradition. In this tradition it is not so much the ethnic peculiarity that is emphasized but rather the principles of Islam, that unite the peoples of the Muslim part of the Caucasus. Purity, modesty, and order reigning in this house, the respectful hierarchy of generations, set off by the old man at the centre – the host of the house –, taking upon himself the responsibility for the hard fate of his family in the hour of distress, the great dignity of the woman, who cannot be broken either by horror or by confusion, the gesture of her hand on the boy's shoulder reflecting the willingness to defend her child – everything in this range of positive values has a specific Muslim tint. Although (in accordance with the historical facts of the depicted period) no religious practice takes place in the picture (nobody prays, reads the Qur'an, or seeks refuge in a mosque, etc.), it is quite obvious that the positive heroes of the picture find moral support in their faith, and it is also obvious that the violence done to them (the soldier pointing his machine pistol at the woman) and the offhand incursion into their life (the officer nervously looking through other people's letters in an attempt to detect any proof of "insurgency") are understood first of all as desecration.

As time went by, Dadash Blimgotov distanced himself from strict public appeal, avoiding the enemy's concrete image in his works. The reflection of the fate of the Karachai people, embodied in his painting, received the nuances of tragedy common to all humankind, the dimensions of which can no longer be measured by exact dates and events. More often his pictures are distinguished by a fantastic combination of times. What is preserved in people's memories, *e.g.*, scenes of exile in the Central Asian desert, becomes the background for the depiction of his contemporaries, whose actions (frequently not even actions but the emphasized inactivity of figures, preoccupied with bitter thoughts, silent talk, or the reading of the Qur'an) no longer belong to a certain period of time, but express eternal grief and vague hope, religious consolation and inspiration. The soft light, which permeates the paintings by Blimgotov, reflects not so much the atmosphere as the vibration of the spirit. It assumes an enigmatic golden fluorescence, emitted by subjects, figures, trees, and distant landscapes. Instead of political manifestos or direct expressions of civil protest, the artist brings to the forefront of his paintings broad generalizations of the meaning of the universe, the destiny of the nation, or the greatness of such symbolic landscapes as Mount Elbrus and the holy stone Kadau-tash. They serve as motives of national and religious (Muslim) symbolism. The measured rhythm and swift pastel shades of Blimgotov's painting correspond most of all to the spirit and hidden meaning of modern Karachai poetry, which a poem by Bilal Laipanov can demonstrate:

I am calm and serene like the stalks of the slow-growing grass
 Which are gaining their strength and coming out through the stone.
 I am calm and serene like the age-old and wise local mountains,
 I am calm and that means I am right.

I am calm and serene like the air in the mosque at the corner,
 Like the fields where the crops will appear in the days of spring.
 I am calm like the children, who show much reverence to their parents,
 And who talk in their dreams with God and forget everything.

I'll be calm as before, notwithstanding all my life's trials,
 Whilst the tempest will last and whilst there will be a life,
 I'll be calm like the bullets distinguished by their self-denial
 That subside in the barrel before their ultimate dive.¹³

Examples of the use of Muslim symbols in order to express modern political ideas and moral imperatives in painting can be found in the art of Balkariya in the 1990s. In the picture "Refuge for Special Resettlers" (1992), the Balkar artist Valerii Kurdanov depicts a Muslim cemetery with closely spaced gravestones in a foreign country (fig. 2). A high blue sky and clouds shining with moonlight, the endless surface of the sea extending to the horizon – all this symbolizes the distance separating the foreign land from the motherland, which is lost forever to the "special resettlers" in their last refuge under a foreign sky. In the striking "stone flowers" of either ruins or crypts and dungeons, the walls of which are lit by a miraculous nocturnal light, mosques with green domes symbolize architectural captives.

The ability to work with inanimate subjects (architectural monuments, fragments of landscapes) with the aim of uncovering human feelings and expressing social and political tragedies does not reflect a special prerogative or, on the contrary, a narrow-mindedness of the modern Muslim artist. The prohibition of portraying living creatures, "those, having a soul", or the creation of statues that "cast a shadow" was observed in Islamic religious art for centuries, but it has lost its rigorous significance for modern artists. Yet there is a special attraction to the Muslim spirit and a nearness to Islamic ethics visible in the works of modern art, the authors of which uncover important phenomena in the history of the Muslim peoples, while not even resorting to the portrayal of a human face or a figure. Stones, mountains, buildings, and creations by human hands form sometimes the subjects of still lives (*nature morte*). Also extremely important in the context of the conception are elements of flora and fauna. They do not only "speak on behalf of themselves" but are also able to tell many things about the life, sufferings, and the hopes of the people.

A picture by the Karachai artist Khalis Ataev (b. 1949) called "The Year 1943" (1996) narrates the tragedy of deportation: a deserted mountain *aul*, carrying the bitter imprint of recent violation and destruction, an architectural landscape, an abandoned cart, and a dog. It is worth mentioning that the portrayal of a dog at the entrance of an empty house was an especially popular motive that appeared in variations in pictures devoted to the deportation of different peoples, e.g., in the picture "The Dead Village of Dumala" (1989) by the Balkar artist Muaed Aksirov based on

13 Bilal Laipanov, *Prostranstvo moego golosa* (The Space of My Voice). Vol. 1. Moscow, 1993, p. 104. English translation of the poem by Rufat Sattarov.

his childhood memories and "The Kalmyk Khoton. After the Expulsion" (1988) by the Kalmyk painter Ochir Kikeev. When we compare the two paintings, it is as if the high-pitched wine of a dog went from one picture to the other.

The image of a deserted *aul* after deportation received great emotional expression and symbolic depth in the picture "Caucasian Landscape Facing the North" (1997) by the Balkar painter Khazyr Teppeev (b. 1957) (fig. 3). The magnificent stone architecture it shows, uniting into a single whole white *saklya*¹⁴, ancient crypts, formidable towers, and huge rocks, thus symbolizing a piece of land not copied from nature but a general image of mountainous Balkariya, contains a threatening force of despair. The cracks that cover vertical walls and stones with a complicated rhythmic pattern visualize the feeling of catastrophe and deep shock, which penetrates this entire world and blows it to pieces. The painting's effect lies in the complex mosaic of colours combining dark azure and turquoise, white silver, bright blue tones, and shrill scarlet spots emphasize the moral and aesthetic significance of values condemned to destruction. It is as if the stones were crying and the cows, painted in the scarlet colour of pain and fury, seem to moan. The scene does not call for pity; it creates a threatening impression, like a curse against the enemy: "Facing the North".

Regarding symbols and signs (*e.g.*, the crescent as a common sign of the Muslim world in the graphical composition "Deportation" by Umar Mizhiev, 1990; a wheel as a symbol of wanderings in the picture "A Road of Sorrow" by the other famous Karachai artist, Meker Borlakov, 1992), the artists of the mountain peoples of the Caucasus search for resting points in historical reality. They aspire to a many-sided reflection on the tragic past that people still have not come to terms with.

A series of pictures by Ibragim Jankishiev (b. 1940) has set significant standards in the history of modern Balkar art. This series is devoted to the tragedy of the Balkar people: the deportation in 1944, life in exile, and their return to the ruins left of the native *aul*, finally to the political and social pressures the Balkar minority in contemporary Kabardino-Balkariya is faced with. The idea of spiritual power, purity, and greatness of the people runs through all these pictures. In this regard, the programmatic character is especially pronounced in such pictures as "A Muslim Woman" (1990) and "The Souls of Deceased Balkar Women Are Coming Back to the Native Village" (1994) (fig. 4). The artist directly appeals to the symbolism of colour (*e.g.*, the white colour of death and grief) and to the migration of the soul (flight, return to the native hearths, life after death), which are taken from Islamic belief and mythology. The main pathos of Jankishiev's paintings lies in his effort to emphasize the significance of faith that helped the Balkar people to bear the most terrible trials and to stay a united people. The most important role in the development of this idea plays the triptych entitled "24 Hours. 14 Days. 13 Years" (1985), the central piece in Jankishiev's series of pictures devoted to the deportation of the Balkars (fig. 5). The time mentioned in the title is to be understood literally. "24 hours" refer to those hours, during which the brutal action of mass deportation was

14 A dwelling carved into the rocks (Caucasus).

realized on March 8, 1944.¹⁵ “14 days” signify the days of painful movement towards the east in slow trains, crammed with people, suffering from hunger, thirst, and crowdedness; “13 years” is the duration of the exile that lasted until 1957.

The central part of the triptych depicts the loading of people into cargo trains at the railway station of Nal’chik, which was fenced off by barbed wire. In the left part of the triptych, columns of exiled people are driven into latticed trucks as if into the compartments of a cattle yard. In the right part, the “meeting of the peoples” (*i.e.*, Balkars and Kyrgyz) takes place under the blue Central Asian night sky illuminated by the pale shine of the crescent. The rhythm of these mass scenes is constructed of strict vertical and dynamic horizontal lines that render the impression of shock and catastrophe. For instance, the left part of the triptych conveys the impression that both people and mountains are losing their balance and are falling inexorably into an abyss, flying into a black chasm of crooked roads leading to death. The vertical rhythms emphasize the firmness and pride of the people, whom no one can force to their knees. The motive of spiritual uprightness is especially expressive in the central part of the triptych. Figures of Balkar women, children, and old people are not dissolving into a faceless crowd but rather, despite the multitude of people, preserve their individuality, each face carrying unique nuances of grief, courage, and dignity. In their similarity, their emotional connection with each other, in the unity of close groups and firm rows they compose the unified Balkar people, as a part of the unified Muslim *umma*. The artist sharply sets off the dignity of the victims against the grotesque figures of the armed guards. The bayonets of their rifles are pointed not only at defenceless people but also at the mountains and the sky of the Caucasus itself.

In some pictures, Jankishiev directly resorts to the depiction of religious rituals (burials, commemoration ceremonies, etc.) and prayer scenes, *e.g.*, the collective *namaz*. In such pictures, he tries as much as possible to recreate everything that was and how it was. Jankishiev narrates the story of the people who survived thanks to their faith. His sources are the stories he has heard from his relatives and the fragmented pictures he finds in his own childhood memories. Cut off from their religion during the many years of “building socialism”, the revival of religiosity among the deported peoples is a well-known fact. In painting, this phenomenon adopts a special emotionality. Thus, with the help of the artist’s tools the illustration becomes a kind of admonition. The conclusion is simple: our faith helped us to survive.

In this regard, the picture “On the Way” (1985–1987) is an autobiographical piece. Jankishiev pays tribute to a close relative, his uncle, who was not able to withstand the 14-day long ordeal of the deportation and died on his way into exile. The guards removed his dead body from the wagon at night, not even allowing his burial according to Muslim traditions. The only thing the uncle’s companions could do was to read a prayer over him. Thousands of dead were left unburied along the railroad

15 Those people who could not be deported from remote mountain villages in such a short period were murdered on the spot by special forces of the NKVD.

track that took the deportees deep into Central Asia. The historical fact fixed in the painting causes emotional shock. The unexpected perspective of the picture (the earth in a birds eye view) intensifies the impression of contact between the praying people who raise their hands to Allah. Their pale faces are glimmering in the dim phosphoric light of the night with its deep blue and violet shadows.

However, Jankishiev increasingly passes boldly from the depiction of real facts and historically authentic narratives to fantasies and metamorphoses, changing reality into something miraculous, mystical, and almost magical. Thus, the picture called "Those Who Perished in the Kyzylkum" is constructed as a mystical tale: the infinite row of those who were scorched by the merciless sun of the desert (not one of the Balkars exiled to the Kyzylkum desert survived) grows out of the colourful fire of the picture, a duel between cold blue and warm crimson colours. The bodies that perished in the red sands are transformed into carved gravestones. Their pale faces show still recognizable lines (e.g., the mourning face of the great folk poet, Kyazim Mechiev, who died on March 14, 1945, is included in this row), but they are already perceived not as living humans but as the inconsolable souls of the dead.

In the doleful picture called "The Balkar Women Whose Children Died in Asia" (1987), Jankishiev develops this system of graphic metamorphosis that permeates his historical paintings, strengthening the fantastic inner structure and bringing it closer to mythological and religious art. The small round breads (*lepeshki*) that, according to the mourning ritual, people bring to the cemetery in commemoration of the dead are transformed into the light heads of children. The mothers clasp their children's heads to their chests, gently caressing them, while their pale faces reflect the moonlit night. Their belief in miracles seems mixed with the anguish of loneliness.

Between mythological figures ("The Souls of Deceased Balkar Women Are Coming Back to their Native Village") and real figures ("The Muslim Women", "The Balkar Women Whose Children Died in Asia"), the distance is shortened, the principal differences disappear, as if to fall back into place in a world that obeys the will of Allah.

In 1989, a single exhibition of Ibragim Jankishiev's works was organized in the city of Nal'chik. It played an important role in the national revival of the Balkar people at a time when the *perestroika* had not been completed yet. The visitors' book of this exhibition is in itself a very interesting document. It shows the great opportunities of art in stimulating the ethnic and civil mobilization of a people, in teaching national and religious feelings. Let us cite some passages from this book:

"Oh, God! What a crime has been committed on the nation! May the memory of the ruined souls live on forever! – V. Saprionovich, 04. 20. 1989.

Dear brother! In your pictures there is a bitter truth about pain, death, and the fortitude of many men and women of my offended but proud people. – M. Sarbashev.

Please forgive me that I am not writing in my Karachai-Balkar language – I did not learn it and there was nobody to talk to me in it. They destroyed everything that was connected with our people, language, religion, and motherland. Yet they could not break us. Maybe we have not yet come back really and become owners of our land. Your exhibition makes us believe. We will come back.”¹⁶

Thus, by expressing the feelings of people, art can arouse new activities and forms: civic consciousness and religiousness of the modern Muslims of Russia are combined in a complex way.

16 “Book of Reviews” in the studio of the artist Ibragim Jankishiev in Nal’chik.

The Development of Art in Daghestan and the Dialogue between Different Cultures

Leyla Geybatova

The Republic of Daghestan lies in the south of the Russian Federation, bordering in the north on Chechnya and Kalmykia that are also part of the Federation, and in the south on Azerbaijan and Georgia, which are independent states. Due to its geographical position it may be considered a link between different parts of the Caucasus (Russian Northern and Central Caucasus and the independent Transcaucasian Republics) and an outpost of Russia in the region. More than thirty nationalities live here.

The art of Daghestan is unique and multinational. Being part of Russian cultural life it can be considered part of world culture. Despite the fact that many different ethnic groups live in this country, which have influenced its historical, social, and cultural development, there is no denying that there is a certain historical, social, and cultural coherence in the region. The existence of many different ethnies living and working together contributed to the variety, diversity, and multitude of Daghestan's cultural forms. Among the ethnies living here, Avars, Darghins, Kumyks, Lezghins, Laks, Tabassarans, Russians, and others can be named. Not only natural factors have influenced the region's cultural development, but also the economical activities, the ethics and manners, the religious beliefs, rites, customs, traditions, and the languages of the various peoples. There is a wide variety of languages spoken in the region, and each one of them is quite unique.

In the process of the historical and cultural development, the language of arts and crafts was also to acquire its own distinctive features and properties. The Middle Ages (due to the economical structure of feudal societies and market expansion) saw the development of material processing methods; it was also the time for the country's craftsmen to work out their own styles and methods of decoration. These factors contributed to the development of areas with their own specialization. The village of Kubachi (inhabited by Darghins) is famous for its gifted jewellers, Mikrakh village (Lezghins) specializes in carpet weaving, the village of Balkhar (Laks) is a centre of ceramics production, the Avars from the Untsukul village are skilful wood decorators, the Kumyks from the Upper and Lower Kazanishche are producers of famous patterned felt, and very skilful embroidery is produced by the Nogai people. There are still many others who could also be mentioned. Of course this categorization is not to be understood as standard for the development of any area, no nation can be reduced to the development of only one form of handicraft. The art

of each ethnic group developed as a part of a bigger whole thus constituting a multinational entity. Despite the fact that each of these groups has its own cultural and ethnic peculiarities, all of them are flexible, which enables them to coexist as parts of a multinational whole.

In the process of historical development, neighbouring countries (such as Azerbaijan and Georgia) exercised great influence upon the peoples of Daghestan. From the end of the 7th century, the Arab-Islamic world included the region in the sphere of its geopolitical interests. Due to the country's internal political, economical, and cultural systems with its rigid norms and traditions (including pagan ones), its islamization took several centuries.¹

Islamic principles and norms of art in Daghestan mixed with the existing regional principles. The ban to portray any living being could not easily overcome the existing local traditions, and stylized images of animals, birds, and anthropomorphic compositions continued to be made, either as a part of an ornament or carved in stone and decorated with Arabic letters (*e.g.*, carvings on a tombstone from the village of Kalakoreish, 13th–14th centuries), and also in pieces of jewellery. Such examples of Daghestani plastic arts as well as many others (*e.g.*, stone carvings in the village of Kubachi dating from the 14th century) paved the way for the revival of the regional art tradition in modern times.

Among the aspects which played an important part in the process of developing a new aesthetic of national art, can be named such historical, social, and cultural factors as the joining of Daghestan with Russia and the highlanders' national struggle for independence led by Imam Shamil (19th century). The works of Daghestani writers, scholars, scientists, and statesmen contributed to the development of secular culture in the area. The Jadidist movement played an important role in this process.

The ties with Russia were essential in the assimilation of elements of European culture. In the late 19th and the early 20th centuries the Caucasian region attracted many artists from Russia and Europe. In the works of such artists as G. G. Gagarin, T. Gorshelt, V. Timm, I. Aivasovskii, and F. Rubo one may find a wide spectrum of genres, themes, and styles. Russian and European public attention was drawn to Oriental Islamic art in general and to the art of Daghestan in particular.

The outstanding Russian artist E. E. Lansere played an important role in the development of Daghestani art. The study of his art and the heritage he left is complicated by the fact that his aspirations as an artist and his personal fate were affected, to a great extent, by cultural, social, and political changes in Russia, Georgia, and Daghestan. The artist came to Daghestan more than once (his first visit was in 1913). From 1917 till the early 1920s he lived with his family in Temir-Khan Shur, where he organized his first art classes. His personality attracted many people, whether they were making their first steps in the world of art or whether they were

¹ *Islam i islamskaya kul'tura v Dagestane*. Moskva, 2001, p. 4; A. P. Shikhsaidov. *Rasprostranenie islama v Dagestane*. Moskva 2001, p. 4.

already mature representatives of the national intelligentsia – writers, poets, actors, or statesmen.

In their chronological succession, the artist's works reflect the development of genres in the early 20th century and also individual choices before the background of social and cultural life. His first visit to the region was a kind of romantic voyage to a remote mountain region that provided him with rich material for his work. At that time he was working on illustrations for the story *Khadzhi-Murat* by L. N. Tolstoi (fig. 1), on the order of the publishing house of R. Golicke and A. Vilborg. This work, made with great skill, was clearly influenced by the symbolism of the *miriskussniki*.² At the time of his second visit to Daghestan, Lansere had other objectives in mind, such as making efforts to organize the art process and to educate young artists in the region. His works now represented a wider spectrum of genres. Among them one may find not only landscapes, such as *Tidib*, *Coroda*, and *Tladal*, but also ethnographical sketches of items of everyday life and national costumes of the Dargins, Lezghins, Avars, and Laks. The richness of colour is one of the strong features of his works. The painter depicts even the last detail of clothing, the glitter of golden jewellery, the colour and texture of fabrics. His portraits are very expressive, picturing national types with great skill (*Moussolau*, 1918; *Makhacha Dakhadaeva*, 1918; *Zulfidgat*). It is evident for anybody viewing these portraits that the artist views the people he depicts with great sympathy and interest.

Muetdin-Arabi Dzhemal, Lansere's pupil and one of the first Daghestani professional artists, followed in the footsteps of his teacher. He comments on Lansere's influence upon his art: "I owe a great deal to this man. First and foremost I became an artist thanks to him. Before the Revolution, the highlanders had no similar form of art. My relatives were very much surprised and upset when I declared to them my intention to become an artist. They knew very little about this profession, but they firmly believed that I was impudent enough to break our grandfathers' traditions and stepped upon a sinful path."³ However, being brought up already in the Soviet Union, he consciously or, probably, subconsciously aspired to major changes in the national culture and hoped to play an active part in the process of creating the anticipated future communist society. Due to these objectives, one can see a change

2 The *miriskussniki* represented an important artistic movement in Russian art at the beginning of the 20th century. Originally, they were closely connected with the journal *Mir isskustva* (World of Art) from which the name of the group is derived. The journal appeared in Sankt Peterburg in 1899–1904 and was edited by S. P. Dyagilev. Members of the association *Mir isskustva* were L. S. Bakst, Aleksandr N. Benua, I. Ya. Bilibin, I. É. Grabar', M. V. Dobuzhinskii, E. E. Lansere, N. K. Rerikh, and others. "In the history of Russian art 'Mir isskustva' represents a turn to the ideal of freedom of creation, emphasis especially on aesthetic criteria, and priority for artistic individualism. The program of 'Mir isskustva' was neo-romantic in character and was connected with symbolism and *style moderne*." (Art. "Mir isskustva", in: *Slovar' Apollon*, Moskva: Éllis Lak, 1997, pp. 344–345.)

3 *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, April 15, 1960, cited in: *Ocherki istorii sovetskogo Dagestana, 1917–1941*. Otv. red. G. G. Gamzatov, Moskva: Nauka, 1987, p. 107.

in the range of subjects he chose. Unlike his earlier landscapes (the motif of Korodinsk), which are rather sombre, and beautiful oil paintings (*Daghestani Triptych*), the later works by Muetdin-Arabi Dzhemal touch upon burning social problems (*Kulak*, 1934; *The Hopeless Situation of the Independent Farmer*). The portrait of the Lezghin poet Suleiman Stal'skii is especially expressive (fig. 2). It shows a strong national spirit, wisdom, and beauty in the features of the portrayed man. It still remains one of the best examples of national realism.

The sixties of the 20th century saw the development of a new style in painting. Symbolism was a new word in Soviet art and it was represented in the works of such Daghestani artists as Édouard Puterbrot, Yu. A. Avgustovich, Zh. Kolesnikova-Avgustovich, I. Sup'yanov, and many others.

Social and political changes during *perestroika* and finally the break-up of the Soviet Union had a great impact upon the cultural life in Daghestan. The promise of democratic rights and new freedoms, the right of nations to self-determination and cultural and national renaissance came along with a political and ideological crisis in society that paved the way for separatism and religious and ethnic intolerance. This period of economic recession and political chaos was difficult for the republic's intelligentsia; many lost their work. The war in Chechnya, the escalation of tension in society, and the proliferation of extremist views, all contributed to the common atmosphere of pessimism and to waves of emigration from the republic. The Russians were the first to leave. They moved to the central Russian regions and to big cities such as Moscow and St. Petersburg, and abroad. Among those who left were the sculptor Tamara Muskhanova, the painter E. Akuvaev, and the graphic artist and painter S. Shakhmardanov. Recently, however, the situation has changed. Open political confrontations were left to the past, and political alliance came in their stead. The time for dialogue between various public organizations and officials has come. The publishing of such newspapers and magazines as *Islam*, *Akhulgo*, and *Renaissance*, and the production of various television and radio programs are financed by the state.

The Ministry of Culture of Daghestan also launched an official project, the opening of a new art gallery *The History of Daghestan in Paintings*. One of the pictures presented there, *17th Century. The Shavkhals after Internal Strife* by Abdulgazir Musaev (1996), is dedicated to the topic of national unity in the country (fig. 3). Important historical events are pictured in three main parts. In the centre of the composition are two groups of warriors in rich national costumes and armour. In the foreground, two fighters are standing face to face. Immovably, they look at the group of elders in the background, deciding upon their common future. As a sign of reconciliation, the noble princes are shaking hands.

Still another work of art is dedicated to the same topic: *The Departure of Umma-Khan Avarskii from Khunzakh* by Magomet Shabanov. Umma-Khan is depicted as a national hero, a strong personality who can rule the country and take responsibility for its future; a personality that is fair, just, and noble. The khan is depicted on a horse decorated with gold. The sky is blue with a few clouds, and the sun is shining

upon the strong walls of Khunzakh Fortress (the old residence of the Avar khans) with its towers, gates, and embrasures. Beyond the walls is a structure with an arched façade. Flags are waving in the breeze. One may find neoclassic motives in this work due to its strictly outlined composition, a rhythmic succession of horizontal and vertical elements, its blue and yellow colouring. The picture produces a positive emotional impression, as if it strengthened one's faith in societal changes, rational order, and harmony. Such a historical interpretation is also deeply rooted in classical social realism. The picture has a certain compositional resemblance with Gagarin's *Atskhur Fortress* (19th century) which might be explained by the fact that both painters studied the historical sources.

In the work of the Tabasaranian artist Radzhabov *Bus Stop and a Roadside Café. Winter. Return to the Homeland*, the national theme is viewed still from another angle. The plot is rather simple, but touching: coming home after having been away for a long time – winter, the season of bad roads, and a country lane. A sad and monotonous landscape is depicted with rows of poplars along the road and a snowy chain of mountains in the background, with an old bus at the roadside. The two passengers who just got off the bus are hurrying towards a café. The colour scheme is rather sombre – grey and blue snow with occasional brown patches of land, and only the dark lines of the roads cut deeply into one's memory. High up in the sky, there are white curls of clouds. Along the way, a man is hurrying. He is heading towards home. The atmosphere of the landscape is in agreement with the breathtaking consciousness of being free, which seizes one when first inhaling cold mountain air after leaving the bustle of a big city. The artist shows the happiness of someone anticipating an imminent return home and meeting with his dear ones. He underlines the possibility of becoming happy by going home, to one's birthplace, one's roots. To manifest his beliefs, the artist intentionally makes use of these naïve and simplified forms that by no means make him any less professional.

National self-determination and the establishment of one's social position are of great importance in the creative activity of modern artists. Taking a profound interest in the fate of one's nation, love of one's homeland, knowledge of the language, customs, and traditions, are considered a personal contribution to the protection of national interests. In the world of art all these factors find realization in the choice of genres and themes. The artist's experience and outlook are reflected in his creative activity. Consciously or subconsciously, an artist will touch upon various aspects of national culture.

The art of the talented Daghestani artist Izbat Urudzheva is deeply rooted in national traditions. The title of one of her works, *The Feast*,⁴ has a clear connotation for any Daghestani: it signifies 'a sacred place'. An old tree is depicted with crooked naked branches, and on the lower branches pieces of cloth are tied. Traditionally, pilgrims coming to a sacred place leave these pieces on a sacred tree. Such places

4 Or: "The Holiday" (Russian *pir*).

are widespread all over Daghestan. Old pagan beliefs interwoven with local Muslim culture have played an important part in the country's cultural and spiritual life.

A tree, an ancient symbol of rebirth similar to a tree of eternal life, is also depicted in the picture *The Ninetieth Spring* (1999) by Izbat Urudzheva (fig. 4). Blossoming branches are growing from a crease in a crumbling wall, besides which a dignified old man is seated on a low bench. Bright sunshine falls upon the wall, and with its golden rays it embraces this fragile figure. Spring is in full swing with the trembling of the young green foliage. The images of the old man and the tree are metaphorical and serve to express the common idea of the unity of the life cycle – birth, growth, flourishing, decaying, and death. At the same time, they symbolize human cognition and wisdom. The two interpretations are closely connected and the onlooker is drawn from one to the other. The works of Isbat Urudzheva are very original and deserve high praise.

The choice of means in art and creative methods reflect the artist's inner world and the scope of experience. The range of colours Izbat Urudzheva uses is not very wide, but she makes ample use of tones and halftones, which makes the picture even more expressive. Some lines are well defined, some are barely visible, light and dark are contrasted, with patches of halftones in-between. Where the artist shows sunshine, colour is dominant. Here, her impulsive manner of painting seems influenced by impressionism.

Evgenii Golik's work *Metaphysical Village* (1998), is highly reminiscent of national motives (fig. 5). The Russian artist living in Daghestan views this complex multinational area as a single entity. The picture shows a quiet winter landscape. The moon is shining on a village covered with snow. The roofs of the half-dilapidated houses are reflected in the sky and there they are seen as objects of an unknown and unseen world, like a mirage full of mystery and a spiritual meaning hidden beneath very well known objects of everyday life. The landscape looks as if it came out of a hypnotic dream; it is highly emotional and surreal. The ruins of the houses are a metaphor of the past, something left behind, something which will never be as it used to be; the feeling of loss and the longing for the things lost is evident.

Post-modern conceptual pluralism offers a wide field for experimentation. Our concept of the purpose and of the meaning of art in modern society is changing due to a free interaction of different forms of art, different techniques, and also the creation of new materials. Post-modern ideas were implemented for the solution of problems existing in culture, and also in social and economic life. The main problems at the moment are the relationship between Islam and art, and the preservation of national art traditions, like the re-creation of arts and crafts. Some artists attempted to achieve a synthesis between national traditions, religion, and modern art with the help of symbols (É. Puterbrot). It is worth mentioning that other artists tried to fuse the sacral and the abstract, but they were not commonly accepted. Representatives of the modern intelligentsia are increasingly interested in the Muslim world in an effort to find a solution to some existing problems, but they are also interested in the active study of new trends in European culture as a whole and

in European philosophy in particular. With this objective in mind, it is very important to visit European and Muslim states, to organize international exhibitions for Dagestani artists and, at the same time, to re-create national traditions and culture, to analyse more closely the nation's historical background and to try to find one's own way in the process of further development.

There are artists who manage to find harmony with the ethical and aesthetic norms of Islamic culture, and this phenomenon is viewed as a true breakthrough. In our opinion, Apandi Magomedov is one of the artists working in this direction. It is notable that *Mavlid* (Birth of the Prophet Muhammed) is the title of his new art project. One of the artist's main objectives is to establish a firm connection between his new aesthetics and religious and national ideas. He is freely experimenting with abstract art. The rhythmic succession of elements is part of his new aesthetics. In the picture *Relief* (1996; fig. 6), rectangular figures displayed in a certain order form a black-and-white space that strongly reminds of a chess-board. Strict order alternates with chaotic symbols, thus constituting a complex heterogeneous whole. Formally and aesthetically this work has features of both oil painting and design.

Modern cultures pose a few important problems. First of all, artists have to live and work in the system of market economy. An artist has to be market-oriented, only then social success is possible. In Soviet times, unlike now, artists regularly received orders from the Union of Artists and the Ministry of Culture, exhibitions were regularly held in museums, and then pictures were bought by museums. With the beginning of *perestroika* and the following political and economic crisis, the state lost its ability to fulfil these functions on the same scale. Because of the scant support both from the state and from the private sector, the work of artists often loses its value and, as a result, artists suffer from a high rate of unemployment and the loss of motivation for creative development. Despite the fact that market economy is rather spontaneous, it has its own inner rules, above all connected with its material and ideological dimensions. Standardization and the multitude of manufactured art products of low quality give reasons for concern. A piece of art is viewed not from the viewpoint of its aesthetic, intellectual, and spiritual value, but from the viewpoint of its market value, of demand and consumption.

On the other hand, the revival of religion boosts the development of sacral art. Not only masters of the arts and crafts turn to Islam for inspiration, but also oil painters. The interaction between arts and crafts and the art of painting is diffusive in character. The carpets made by A. Magomedova are a good example. Along with the revival of Islam, the clash between different art traditions intensifies. There was no public agreement concerning the question of erecting a monument to Imam Shamil, for it contradicts the Islamic ban on depicting living beings. Despite the existing contradictions, society as a whole, and artists and art critics in particular, are against the unification of art, as it would break the continuity of national traditions.

Despite the never-ending arguments, contradictions, and confrontations in society, art still remains a domain of peaceful interaction, coexistence, and cooperation for creative individuals of different nationalities, religions, and views. The study of

the internal mechanisms that allow different forms of culture to coexist and to preserve their identity and uniqueness is an important topic for art criticism and research in the humanities as a whole. The analysis of international cultural interaction plays an important role in an objective scholarly approach to the study of national cultures. If an artist is interested in the culture of a different nation and, moreover, makes a personal contribution to it, he/she becomes included in the cultural life of a foreign country and contributes to the establishment of a “contact zone” between nations.

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Southern Caucasus

Islamic Features in the Architecture of Tao-Klardjet

Mine Kadiroğlu

This paper intends to highlight the Islamic features observed in medieval Georgian churches that had been converted into mosques. It is based on the results of nine successive field surveys undertaken in 1995–2003, with the objective of a systematic documentation of the medieval Georgian monuments in Tao-Klardjet.¹

The mountainous region traversed by the River Çoruh (Chorokki/Akampsis), its tributaries, and the Upper Kura River (Mtkvari/Cyrus) in Northeastern Anatolia was known in the Middle Ages as Tao-Klardjet and considered politically and ethnically a part of “Iberia” or Eastern Georgia.² According to the 11th century annals, the

- 1 The reference material selected for the presented paper relies on the results of research work within the project “*Medieval Georgian Architecture in Tao-Klardjet*”, led by the author and assisted by a group of my young colleagues, Dr. Zafer Karaca, Dr. Turgay Yazar, Dr. Fahriye Bayram, Bülent İşler M.A., and our students Bora Dedemen, Selçuk Duran, Mehmet Bayram, Nazlı Ece Göymen, and Hülya Güney, to whom I am deeply indebted.
- 2 The 1995–2003 field surveys taken at eighty sites reveal the presence of over one hundred-forty remnants of edifices belonging to sixteen fortifications, twenty-seven monasteries, twenty-eight churches, and the rest to single-naved structures, mostly chapels. For reference see the following publications by M. Kadiroğlu, Z. Karaca, and T. Yazar: 1995 Yılı Tao-Klardjet Yüze Y Araştırması (1995 Field Survey in Tao-Klardjet). In: *XIV Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, Ankara 1996, pp. 397–421, ill. 1–15; Ortaçağ Gürcü Mimarisi 1996 Yılı Yüze Y Araştırması (1996 Field Survey of Medieval Georgian Monuments). In: *XV Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, Ankara 1998, pp. 97–125, ill. 1–16; Ortaçağ Gürcü Mimarisi 1997 Yılı Yüze Y Araştırması (1997 Field Survey of Medieval Georgian Monuments). In: *XVI Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, Ankara, 1999, vol. I, pp. 129–142, ill. 1–13; Çoruh Vadisi Ortaçağ Gürcü Mimarisi 1998 Yılı Yüze Y Araştırması (1998 Field Survey of Medieval Georgian Monuments in the Çoruh Valley). In: *XVII Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, Ankara 2000, vol. I, pp. 81–94, ill. 1–8. See also: M. Kadiroğlu, Z. Karaca, T. Yazar, F. Bayram, Çoruh Vadisi Ortaçağ Gürcü Mimarisi 2000 Yılı Yüze Y Araştırması (2000 Field Survey of Medieval Georgian Monuments in the Çoruh Valley). In: *XIX Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, Ankara 2002, vol. I, pp. 93–100; M. Kadiroğlu, Z. Karaca, T. Yazar, F. Bayram, B. İşler, Çoruh Vadisi Ortaçağ Gürcü Mimarisi 2001 Yılı Yüze Y Araştırması (2001 Field Survey of Medieval Georgian Monuments in the Çoruh Valley). In: *XX Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, Ankara, 2003, vol. I, pp. 29–40, ill. 1–9; M. Kadiroğlu, T. Yazar, F. Bayram, B. İşler, Ortaçağ Gürcü Mimarisi 2002 Yılı Yüze Y Araştırması (2002 Field Survey of Medieval Georgian Monuments). In: *XXI Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, Ankara 2004, vol. II, pp. 1–16, ill.1–9; M. Kadiroğlu, T. Yazar, F. Bayram, B. İşler, Çoruh Havzası Ortaçağ Gürcü Mimarisi 2003 Yılı Yüze Y Araştırması (2003 Field Survey of Medieval Georgian Monuments in the Çoruh Valley). In: *XXII Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, Kültür Bakanlığı, Ankara 2005, pp. 93–106, ill. 1–11.

Georgian city of Artanuji (Ardanuç) was founded by King Vahtang Gorgasali (r. 446/7–499) as his residence.³ In the second half of the 7th century, the whole region was largely destroyed by the Arab invasions and became almost deserted.

During the last quarter of the 8th century, however, the Georgians returned to Tao-Klardjet, rebuilt the city of Ardanuç as their capital and started the foundation of monasteries that developed into centres of social and cultural life. These activities were encouraged by the “Rulers of Ardanuç”, as the ruling dynasty, the Bagratids, used to be called, and led by Rev. Grigol Hanzteli (759–861) and his disciples.⁴

After the death of Aşot I or Aşot the Great (780–830), his kingdom and his title were divided among his three sons: the eldest received Shavshat (Şavşat) and Lower Tao (Oltu); the second son took over the Byzantine title Curopalates and parts of Tao and Kola (Göle); the youngest obtained Artani (Ardahan) and Djavaheti.⁵

The Bagratid family was divided once again into two branches, Tao and Klardjet, in 923. Curopalates David “the Great” (d. 1001) who was the last ruler of the Tao Branch was responsible for the foundation of four monasteries and received the Armenian territories under Byzantine occupation for his support of the Byzantine Emperor Basil II (976–1025) during a rebellion.⁶

In 1011, Bagrat (d. 1014), son of the “Iberian King” Gurgun (d. 1008) and adoptive son of Curopalates David, succeeded in bringing together the Georgians in a

3 In spite of the chronicle of Juansher, *The History of King Vahtang Gorgasal*, there are differences regarding the duration of the reign of this most renowned king of Iberia. Hussey referring to Toumanoff decides on the date 446–522, whereas F. Bayram gives the date 446–510. R. Thomson and R. G. Suny choose 447–522, while in previous publications of mine, the date accepted by Brosset has been preferred. See C. Toumanoff, *Iberia on the Eve of Bagratid Rule*. In: *Le Muséon* LXV (1952), pp. 199–258, (“Genealogical Table of the Kings and Princes of Iberia”); J. M. Hussey (ed.), *The Byzantine Empire. Part I. Byzantium and Its Neighbors*. In: *The Cambridge Medieval History* vol. IV, Cambridge 1966, p. 600, footnote 1; R. G. Suny, *The Making of the Georgian Nation*. London: I. B. Tauris, 1989, p. 23; R. Thomson, *Rewriting Caucasian History. The Medieval Armenian Adaptation of the Georgian Chronicles*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996, pp. 153–230; *Gürcistan Tarihi (Eski çağlardan 1212 yılına kadar)* translated from Georgian by Marie Félicité Brosset, into Turkish (Georgian History – from the Antiquity to the year 1212) by Hrand D. Andreasyan, notes and editing by Erdoğan Merçil. In: *Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları*, vol. X, No. 17, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2003, p. 120; F. Bayram, *Artvin'deki Gürcü Manastırları (Rahip Grigol Handzta Dönemi)* (The Georgian Monasteries in Artvin. The Era of Rev. Grigol Handzta), Istanbul: Ege, 2005, p. 19, footnote 62.

4 *Gürcistan Tarihi*, pp. 228 ff.; see also N. Marr, *Georgii Mercul'. Zhit'e sv. Grigoriya Khandztiiskago* (Georgii Mercul'. Life of St. Grigori of Khandzta). St. Petersburg 1911 (Teksty i razyskaniya po armyano-gruzinskoi filologii; VII); P. Peeters, *Vie de S. Grégoire de Khandztha*. In: *idem: Histoires monastiques géorgiennes*. In: *Analecta Bollandiana* 36–37 (1917–1918), pp. 207–309; B. Martin-Hisard, *Moines et monastères géorgiens du 9^e siècle: La vie de Saint Grigol de Xancta*. In: *Revue des Études Byzantines*, tome 59 (2001), pp. 5–94.

5 C. Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History*, Wetteren: Georgetown University Press, 1963, pp. 488 ff.

6 Thomson, *Rewriting Caucasian History*, pp. 272–278; *Gürcistan Tarihi*, pp. 254–256.

united kingdom, except for the Emirate in Tbilisi and parts of Kartli.⁷ This act initiated not only the termination of the sovereignty of the Tao-Klardjet principalities but also a gradual withdrawal from the region by the Georgians.

Due to the presence of the Turks in Anatolia following the conquest of Ani in 1064, but more definitively after the Battle of Manzikert in 1071, the Georgian population gradually abandoned Tao-Klardjet, leaving behind the settlers in monasteries or fortified complexes. The decisive dates for the rest of the Christian Georgians to leave the region seem to be the conquest of Trabizond in 1461, causing a definite interruption of all communicative activities among Christian inhabitants of the region, and the Battle of Çaldıran in 1514, when the Ottoman Empire succeeded in establishing its control in Eastern Anatolia and began to conquer parts of the Caucasus.⁸

The earliest reference to Islamic architectural activities seems to be the construction or reconstruction of a mosque in the castle of the fortified previous Georgian capital, Ardanuç, conquered in 1551. According to its deed of trust (*vakfiye*), the mosque was built by the conqueror of Ardanuç, the governor of Erzurum, Ser Iskender Paşa, in 1565 (AH 973).⁹ Moreover, there is evidence in written sources that monastic activities continued and did not abruptly come to an end with the appearance of the Muslims in the region.¹⁰ There is also no information in historical sources as to the destruction of Christian settlements during the Ottoman occupation of Eastern Anatolia or of the Caucasus.

There is, however, a lack of reliable informative sources on the Muslim population in Eastern Anatolia between the second half of the 16th and the second half of the 18th centuries. For instance, the earliest registered village mosque is the Ortacalar Merkez Camii in Arhavi, dated by an inscription to 1757 (AH 1170), but the majority of construction activities took place in the second half or at the end of the 19th century.¹¹ It seems as if the Muslim population had no regular settlements and as if

7 Thomson, *Rewriting Caucasian History*, pp. 346 ff; *Gürcistan Tarihi*, pp. 252 ff.; Bayram, *Artvin'deki Gürcü Manastırları*, p. 20.

8 M. F. Kırzioğlu, *Osmanlılar'ın Kafkas-Elleri'ni Fethi (1451–1590)*. (Conquest of the Caucasus by the Ottomans (1451–1590)). Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1993, pp. 99 ff.

9 For the construction of a new mosque, see: F. H. Kırzioğlu, *Yukarı-Kur ve Çoruk Boyları'nda Kıpçaklar: İlk-Kıpçaklar (M.Ö. VIII. M.S. VI. yy.) ve Son-Kıpçaklar (1118, 1195) ile Ortodoks Kıpçak Atabegler Hükümeti (1267–1578)*, (Kıpçaks in Upper Kura and Çoruh Valleys, Early Kıpçaks (VIIIth c. BC – VIth c. AD) and Late Kıpçaks (1118, 1195) as well as orthodox Kıpçak Atabeg Governments (1267–1578)), Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1992, p. 169 and footnote 122. For repair works of an earlier mosque in 1565 see: *Türkiye'de Vakıf Abideler ve Eski Eserler (Artvin İli)* (Endowed Monuments and Cultural Heritage in Turkey), Ankara: Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları, 1984, p. 24.

10 There is mention of the functioning of some of the Georgian monasteries until the end of the 16th or even the first half of the 17th century. See E. Takaishvili, *Arkheologicheskaya ekspeditsiya 1917-go goda v yuzhnye provintsii Gruzii* (The archaeological expedition of 1917 to the southern provinces of Georgia). Tbilisi 1952.

11 See *Türkiye'de Vakıf Abideler*, pp. 30–32; O. Aytekin, *Ortaçağ'dan Osmanlı Dönemi Sonuna*

the region was occupied mostly by nomadic tribes, moving with their cattle from pasture to pasture and seasonally from low to high lands. They had no need for permanent dwellings, which is why the construction of mosques was not required.¹²

Furthermore, there is a deficiency of dependable data as to the beginning of conversion activities of Georgian churches into mosques.¹³ Three *berat* or authorization documents bearing the Sultan's *tuğra* (signature) and kept in the village of Barhal permit interpretation.¹⁴ According to the oldest *berat*, dated 1770 (AH 1184), it can be deduced that the conversion of this specific church at Barhal took place almost at the same time as the construction of the earliest registered mosque in the region. The majority of transformation activities of churches into mosques, as well as the reuse of monastic buildings as dwellings or as construction material for the newly built mosques, tombs, baths, houses, other dwellings, or fountains seem to have been realized throughout the 19th century.¹⁵

Research on Islamic features in Tao-Klardjet reveals different trends of making use of medieval Georgian churches. One way was to adapt the surviving church into a mosque.¹⁶ Adaptation activities may in some cases indicate the conversion of the whole church into a mosque, in other cases only a part of it.¹⁷ In some instances,

Kadar Artvin'deki Mimari Eserler (Architectural Monuments in Artvin from the Middle Ages to the end of the Ottoman Period), Ankara: T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, 1999, pp. 156–158, ill. 92–94.

- 12 The line of reasoning that the Muslims in Tao-Klardjet used to lead a nomadic life before they finally settled down, can be supported by the fact that in the summer, the villagers and their cattle still move to higher plateaus where there are usually no mosques.
- 13 Due to the lack of inscriptions or written sources, any attempt of presenting the mosques chronologically as to the date of their conversion would be deficient.
- 14 The earliest *berat* bearing the *tuğra* of Sultan Mustafa III (1757–1774) allows Hacı Ahmed to replace his deceased father as the imam of the mosque. The second *berat* with the *tuğra* of Sultan Abdülhamid I (1774–1789) permits Hacı Ahmed to keep his post as the imam of the mosque and dates to the year 1774 (AH 1188). The most recent *berat* has the *tuğra* of Sultan Mahmud II (1808–1839) and allows a certain Mehmed to become the imam of the mosque. It is dated to 1825 (AH 1240). For the reference material, see T. Artvinli, *Yusufeli*, Ankara: T.C. Yusufeli Kaymakamlığı, PYS Matbaacılık, 2000, pp. 384, 392.
- 15 According to research work, the monastic churches at İşhan, Barhal, Öşk, Haho, Dolishan, Ekeki, Tbeti, and Berta were already functioning as mosques during the last decades of the 19th century. See: Marr, *Zhit'e sv. Grigoriya Khandzt'iskago*; Takaishvili, *Arkheologicheskaya ekspeditsiya 1917-go goda*; W. Djobadze, *Early Medieval Georgian Monasteries in Historic Tao, Klardjet'i, and Şavşet'i*. Stuttgart: Steiner 1992 (Forschungen zur Kunstgeschichte und Christlichen Archäologie: 17).
- 16 Besides the above-mentioned Georgian monastic churches, the parish churches at Kişha, Bobosgiri, Pertus, Sohtorot, and Satlel are known to have been converted into mosques.
- 17 Georgian monastic churches at Barhal, Haho, Dolishan, Tbeti, and the parish church of Satlel are examples of churches that have been completely converted into mosques. The church at İşhan, whose western cross-arm and the church at Öşk whose southern exedra used to function as mosques are examples of churches that have been partly converted. Neither Tbeti nor Öşk retain any liturgical element, though.

unfortunately, the churches were pulled down to make room for new mosques.¹⁸ In most cases, though, the church remains were reused as construction material for the newly built mosques.¹⁹

The reasons for the selection of a specific church to be converted into a mosque are difficult to detect, especially when a church was pulled down to replace it with a newly built mosque. It becomes even more ambiguous when the whole church was converted into a mosque, functioning as such for about half a century, but then was demolished to make room for a new mosque with exactly the same dimensions.²⁰

One of the major factors for choosing a specific church would be its location, for instance, being well protected, being surrounded by fertile land with fresh water sources and being located at a rather suitable place for further enlargement of the settlement, as it is the case for most of the converted churches. These credentials, though, were not always decisive for the selection, as the church at Yeni Rabat proves.²¹ On the contrary, this church, situated appropriately, *i.e.*, with fertile land, with access to fresh water and well protected by a nearby fortification, has never been converted into a mosque, while the original monastic church of Berta, difficult to reach and situated on a hill-top not adequate for further expansion, became the mosque of the village Ortaköy.²²

One other major factor for the selection would be the state of preservation of the original church, the less destructed having priority. This might have been the main reason why the monastic churches at Şatberdi and Esbeki were not chosen for conversion.²³ But other cases show a different pattern. The western cross-arm of the cathedral at İşhan, *e.g.*, had to receive a wooden roof construction, an indication for the possibility of repair works during conversion activities.²⁴

18 According to the information of local inhabitants, Georgian monastic churches at Ekeki, Berta as well as the parish churches at Kişha and Sohtorot have been pulled down with the intention to replace them by newly built mosques.

19 As an evaluation of the mosques constructed with reused material taken from original Georgian churches in Tao-Klardjet would display Georgian but not Islamic features, this group of mosques will not be taken into consideration in the present paper.

20 For the monastic church at Ekeki, converted into a mosque at the end of the 19th century but pulled down in 1957 in order to be replaced by a newly built mosque upon the three-stepped platform of the original church, see Takaishvili, *Arkheologicheskaya ekspeditsiya 1917-go goda*; I. Zdanevitch, *L'itinéraire géorgien de Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo et les églises aux confins de l'Atabégat*. Paris, 1966.

21 For Yeni Rabat, see: Djjobadze, *Early Medieval Georgian Monasteries*, pp. 72–77, ill. 92–105.

22 For Berta, see: Bayram, *Artvin*, pp. 83–88, ill. 131–140.

23 For Şatberdi whose first documentation took place in 1995, see: M. Kadiroğlu, Untersuchungen an mittelalterlichen georgischen Baudenkmalern in Nordost-Anatolien. In: *Georgica* 22 (1999), pp. 8–19, plates 2–5; Bayram, *Artvin*, pp. 89–94, ill. 141–151. For Esbeki, see Djjobadze, *Early Medieval Georgian Monasteries*, pp. 47–48, ill. 49–55.

24 The interior dimensions of the western cross-arm of the monastic church at İşhan are ca. 15.00 x 7.80 meters. When compared to the basilica at Esbeki, it displays quite the same dimensions and is also in a similar state of preservation. See: Takaishvili, *Arkheologicheskaya Ekspeditsiya 1917go goda*; M. Kadiroğlu, *The Architecture of the Georgian Church at İşhan*, Frankfurt am

Architectural features of the original churches might have been decisive in the selection for conversion, like plan types, dimensions, or masonry techniques. The plan type of the original church, however, does not seem to be one of the factors of preference, as both longitudinally and centrally planned churches have been converted into mosques.²⁵ One other architectural feature, the dome, is also not among the major factors of choice, as is demonstrated by the selection of the three-aisled basilica at Barhal as well as by the employment of the basilical western arm of the Cathedral at İřhan.²⁶ The modest dimensions of the original church, on the other hand, seem to have had some influence.

The most decisive architectural feature is certainly the masonry technique of the original church. The architectural remains documented during field surveys in 1995–2003, reveal two successive masonry techniques: an earlier one, dated between the end of the 8th and the beginning of the 10th centuries, while the later one is dated from the middle of the 10th to the first quarter of the 11th centuries, the so-called transition period of Georgian architecture.²⁷

Except for the one at Satlel, all surviving churches converted into mosques represent later construction period techniques, providing for more stability and facilitating alterations or reconstruction activities.²⁸ The most important elements of this construction technique are the two- or three-stepped platforms upon which the churches were built, and the employment of the so-called *ashlar* masonry, a technique executed with well-cut stones, where the exterior and interior wall surfaces are separately constructed and the space in between is filled with mortar, rubble, and small cut-stone pieces, generally making up two-thirds of the wall's thickness. The smoothly cut stones of almost equal dimensions but of different colours are built up in regular rows of masonry with no mortar visible on the exterior, while interior wall

Main: Peter Lang, 1991; Djobadze, *Early Medieval Georgian Monasteries*, pp. 191–217, ill. 271–316.

- 25 The original monastic churches at Barhal and Berta as well as the parish church at Satlel are three-aisled basilicas, whereas those at Haho, Dolishan, Ekeki, İřhan, Tbeti, and Öřk are originally cruciform domed churches. An earlier publication, E. Takaishvili, *Album de l'architecture géorgienne*. Tiflis 1924, informs us of the plan types of the churches of Bobosgiri, a domed tetraconchos, and of Sohtorot, a single-naved structure; the original plan types of the churches of Kışha and Pertus, however, cannot be securely reconstructed.
- 26 During the 19th century Russian-Ottoman wars, the cathedral served partly as lodgings or quarters for the Ottoman soldiers and the west-arm as the mosque, so the selection not of the domed central space but of the western arm might have had a logistic reason, as the eastern part of the church is not only larger but also has two stories.
- 27 See M. Kadiroğlu and B. İřler, Kuzeydoęu Anadolu, Gürcü Dinsel Yapılarının Tarihlendirilmesinde Kullanılan Yöntem ve Ölçütler (Techniques and Measurements Applied while Dating Georgian Religious Monuments in Northeastern Anatolia). In: *Sakarya Üniversitesi. Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, vol. 7, No. 1 (2005), 251–262.
- 28 According to architectural data, the original church of Satlel seems to belong to a later period, built probably during the 15th or at the beginning of the 16th century; through analysis of earlier research results, the original churches of Sohtorot and Bobosgiri, both totally destroyed, can be dated to the first construction period.

surfaces have smaller and not so precisely cut-stones with visible joints. The pillars, the pilasters, the arches, and the frames of openings, on the other hand, were constructed with the same material and in the same manner as the exterior façades.

Prior to a detailed description of each Islamic feature in the converted churches, it might be reasonable to select one of the earlier village mosques in order to observe the authentic regional elements, like space configuration, application of a *mihrab*, a *mimber*, a *mahfil*, a *son cemaat yeri*, or a minaret.²⁹

The so-called “wooden mosque” is typical for the region, in which the roof as well as other detachable liturgical elements are made of wood, usually adorned with various carved geometrical and floral patterns, while the walls are built with cut stones and are covered with plaster.³⁰

A rectangular space configuration is common to most of the village mosques built from the middle of the 18th century onwards. The wooden roofs, often designed as domes, seldom carried by free-standing wooden columns, rest on wooden beams fit in the holes cut into the walls. In some examples, the *son cemaat yeri* can be an annex, usually with a *mahfil*, and in most cases minarets seem to be later additions.

The main entrance to a mosque is from the north through the *son cemaat yeri*.³¹ This room is separated from the *harim*, the main prayer section of the mosque, by means of parapets if it is not an annex. It usually has an upper story, sometimes with a loggia, reached by wooden steps and functioning as a *mahfil*.³² An arched opening, occasionally with ornamented wooden doors, gives way from the *son cemaat yeri* into the *harim*. The *mihrab*, placed on the south wall, is usually constructed in cut-stone masonry as a round-arched and rather deep niche of varying dimensions.³³ The *mimber*, a wooden construction usually ornamented and with steps, is to the west of the *mihrab* on the south wall.³⁴ The interior is well lit by rows of windows with round-arched openings pierced mainly on the east and west walls.

It seems that architectural features particular to a region have been adapted when converting a church into a mosque, as can be detected in the original Georgian monastic church of Berta. A comparative study of the present mosque, the Cuma Camii in Ortaköy, and two nearby mosques, Çayağzı (Salih Bey) Camii, built in 1792 (AH 1207) as indicated in the inscription over the main entrance, and Orta

29 For such a demonstration, Ortacalar Köyü Camii in Arhavi, dated securely by an inscription to 1757 (AH 1170), seems to be appropriate, as it possesses elements common to most of the mosques in the region. See *Türkiye’de Vakıf Abideler*, pp. 30–32; Aytekin, *Ortaçağ’dan Osmanlı Dönemi Sonuna Kadar Artvin’deki Mimari Eserler*, pp. 156–158, ill. 93–95.

30 “Wooden mosque” is a direct translation of the Turkish terminology *ahşap cami* applied to mosques with wooden construction elements.

31 *Son cemaat yeri*, in Anatolia situated to the north of a mosque, has a similar function as a narthex.

32 *Mahfil* is generally situated above the *son cemaat yeri* and is similar to a gallery.

33 *Mihrab*, placed on the south wall of a mosque, is the most sacred place and is similar to an apse.

34 *Mimber*, situated on the south wall, serves as a pulpit.

Cami built during the last decade of the 18th century according to the completion of a fountain dated to the year 1783, reveals similarities in the interior layout with a rectangular *harim* covered by a wooden roof, a round-arched *mihrab* niche and rows of window openings.³⁵ The resemblance is even more noteworthy when taking the *son cemaat yeri*, an annex in all of the three mosques, into consideration.³⁶

At close observation, each alteration and addition executed on the original Georgian churches can help establish a general view as to the requirements of conversion activities. Considering the material presently available, these seem to be the *mihrab*, the *mimber*, the *mahfil*, the *son cemaat yeri*, and the minaret.³⁷

The construction of the *mihrab* niches of the converted mosques is generally executed by filling in a round-arched opening with masonry, usually the main southern entrance of the original church.³⁸ This application seems to have common elements, like the material and masonry techniques employed, the rather careless workmanship, modest dimensions, covering of the surfaces with mortar and plaster, a lack of ornamentation in the interior of the niches, and also the preservation of all exterior sculptural decoration, figural as well, on and around the refilled openings and on the façades.

Moreover, similarities can be detected between a *mihrab* niche of a converted church and that of an original mosque. However, regional features are decisive, for instance, the *mihrab* niche at Dolishan (fig. 1) resembles the ones in İŝhan or in Dikyamaç more closely than the one in Satlel (fig. 8), presumably because the latter has more in common with the *mihrab* niches of Şavşat than elsewhere, as displayed in the nearby mosque of Kocabey Köyü, securely dated to 1890 (AH 1318) by the inscription above its main portal.³⁹

35 For further information on Çayağzı (Salih Bey) Camii, see *Türkiye'de Vakıf Abideler*, pp. 10–11; Aytekin, *Ortaçağ'dan Osmanlı Dönemi Sonuna Kadar Artvin'deki Mimari Eserler*, pp. 113–118, ill. 73–77; and on Orta Cami, *Türkiye'de Vakıf Abideler*, pp. 11–11; Aytekin, *op. cit.*, pp. 110–112, ill. 72.

36 Whether the indicated observations, especially the *son cemaat yeri* being an annex, would be sufficient for a cautious dating of the conversion of the church to the last decade of the 18th or the beginning of the 19th century, is disputable but not impossible.

37 The village mosques at Barhal and Haho, still functioning as such, as well as the ones at Dolishan and İŝhan are the only surviving examples that can help in further research on the Islamic features in Tao-Klardjet, as neither at Tbeti, severely damaged, nor at Öŝk, rather well-preserved, Islamic elements have come down to us.

38 The *mihrab* niches of the mosques at Barhal (fig. 7), Satlel, İŝhan (fig. 9, 10), and Öŝk used to be the main southern entrances of the original churches. At Haho and Dolishan, while the southern entrances used to give way to the southern annexes, an original round arched rectangular niche was constructed on the north façade of the southern cross-arm at Haho. At Dolishan, however, the window opening of the southern cross-arm served as the *mihrab* niche as it is, without even being filled in with masonry (fig. 2).

39 For the *mihrab* niche of the Dikyamaç Camii, dated to 1894 (AH 1312) by an inscription, see *Türkiye'de Vakıf Abideler*, pp. 33–35, and Aytekin, *op. cit.*, pp. 159–162, ill. 96–98. For Kocabey Köyü Camii, see Aytekin, *op. cit.*, pp. 196–200, ill. 123–127.

Considering the remaining *mimber* of the mosque at Barhal and that of Haho (figs. 5, 6), both still functioning as mosques, we can conclude that except for the material, none has any resemblance to those in the newly built original mosques of the region.⁴⁰ While the latter are adorned with carvings of geometric and/or floral patterns, the ones at Barhal and Haho are modest in dimensions and appearance, without any decorative elements. Furthermore, none of the converted mosques that have ceased to function as such has a *mimber*, making it quite impossible to ascertain regional aspects.

The *mahfil*, a wooden construction usually with an extension like a loggia, is either the upper story of the *son cemaat yeri* as in Satlel, or a wooden construction carried by wooden beams inserted into holes in the adjacent wall surfaces as in İřhan and Dolishan (fig. 3), or resting on wooden pillars as is the case at Barhal and at Haho (fig. 4). In each case, though, workmanship is careless. It seems as if there is no particular attention given to the appearance.

The *son cemaat yeri* seems to be arranged according to the space available. In the mosques at Barhal, Haho, and Dolishan, the *son cemaat yeri* is hardly separated from the main prayer room of the mosque, whereas at İřhan, architectural data give evidence of a complete reconstruction of the north-western annex of the original church as *son cemaat yeri*. The only minaret in the region, barely larger but not even as high as a chimney and placed on the western end of the roof, used to belong to the mosque at İřhan.

It is remarkable to discover that all alteration, addition, or reconstruction activities have been undertaken very cautiously.⁴¹ For instance, the master mason in Dolishan paid great attention not to dig extra holes and installed the beams for the wooden construction dividing the interior into two stories upon wooden columns and in the window openings. Repairs have been carried out, especially of the roofs in Dolishan replacing broken tiles of the cupola, in Haho and Barhal re-covering the roofs with a more durable material. Precautions have been taken against the penetration of water and accumulation of soil, for instance in Barhal and Dolishan.

One last remarkable detail is the concealing of mural paintings of the churches converted into mosques. Interior wall surfaces have been plastered over, in some mosques completely, in others partly, with the intention of hiding the mural paintings. Yet, in the mosque of the village Bađbaşı, mural paintings seem not to disturb

40 The actual photographs of July 2005 display, however, that the earlier *mihrab* and *mimber* of the mosque at Haho have been replaced by a brand new *mihrab* and *mimber*, both having common features to similar liturgical elements in other mosques. I take the opportunity to thank my young colleague Bülent İřler M.A. for sharing with me the latest results of his excursion as well as for taking measurements and checking our previous calculations.

41 The mosque at İřhan, for instance, had to have a wall to separate the western arm from the rest of the church. Again at İřhan, the western annex of the original church functioning as the *son cemaat yeri* had to be reconfigured. The arcades opening to its western wall were, however, refilled with masonry some time later, in order to prevent further destruction, and on the south wall pilasters were added to support the vault.

the daily religious ceremony. The cross in the dome, the saints and church fathers in the apse are not and have never been coated with plaster, an instance that can simply be interpreted as the existence of tolerance between two religions, emphasizing the uniqueness of Tao-Klardjet.

St. Peter and Paul Church in Sagarejo, Georgia: The Seljuk-style Fret on the Western Façade

Ekaterine Kvachatadze

The St. Peter and Paul Church in Sagarejo¹, Ninotsminda Region of Georgia, was built between 1690 and 1712 by order of the Honoured Superior of the Davit Gareja Monastery, Onophre Machutadze.²

The church is a rather large single-nave church built from pebble stone. The pebbles, half-embedded in a thick mortar layer, make the outer wall particularly decorative. The façade facing, *i.e.*, the plastic decoration of the portals and windows, is made of greenish-greyish stramineous *ashlar*. The eastern façade of the church is dominated by the huge cross³, accompanied by images of seraphs, which has an apotropaic triumphal-eschatological content⁴ so typical for the façade sculpture of the so-called Georgian Renaissance period. Along with the cross, the middle axis is accented by a large window. This façade loaded with such deep Christian content is conceptually related to the relief composition of the Glory of the Lord on the tympanum above the entrance door of the southern façade (now walled up), where the images of Our Lord the Christ and the archangels are placed in medallions.

The subject of our present discussion is the ornamental décor of the western façade that is quite different from the décors of the other façades of this church and alien to Georgian building traditions. With its explicitly Islamic features, the so-called Seljuk ornament with its typical overloaded ornamentation has hardly any direct analogies in medieval Georgian ecclesiastic architecture.⁵

The whole architectural-plastic décor faced with *ashlar* is concentrated on the middle axis of the western façade, namely the portal, the window, and the cross (figs. 1–3). The upper arm of the latter is touching the keystone of the fronton.

1 Sagarejo (formerly Tvali) was a settlement that belonged to the Davit Gareja monastery. See T. Zhordania. *Historical Documents on Kartli-Kakheti Monasteries and Churches*, Poti 1903, pp. 60, 68 [in Georgian]; T. Zhordania. *Chronicles. Part II*, 1897, p. 430 [in Georgian]; A. Kavteli. Settlement and Village. In: *Iveria*, 1886, No. 164, July, p. 2 [in Georgian].

2 G. N. Chubinashvili. *Peshchernye monastery David-Garedzhi: ocherk po istorii iskusstva Gruzii*, Tbilisi 1948, p. 105; V. Beridze, *Ecclesiastic Architecture of the XVI–XVIII centuries*, Tbilisi 1994, pp. 141–148 [in Georgian].

3 The sculptural design of the southern facade of Ananuri Cathedral built in 1689 is of a similar kind.

4 The devil is imagined as a kind of dragon.

5 V. Beridze, *Ecclesiastic Architecture*, p. 145.

The enormous cross has several projections: the high-relief cross with a geometrical binding, covered with ornaments, is embedded in a deeply cut depression in the wall covered with the same light lacy ornament. The cross casing is prolonged with a wide frame jutting out from the façade wall by some centimetres. This frame is also covered with geometrical décor typical for the Seljuk ornament where two plain parallel fasciae are exposed on the surface and then rhythmically joined in an angled rhomb to form an intersected octagon on the end of the arms. It is noteworthy that at the end of each arm of the cross, as its prolongation and termination, plastic ornaments are displayed with the same interlaced plain fasciae. A trained eye can detect the associative similarity of this ornamental décor with the six-wing seraphs on the ends of the cross arms of the eastern façade (fig. 4). By rendering the figures of seraphs in an abstract and stylized manner on the western façade “dedicated” to the Seljuk ornament, the artist did his best to match this image with the ornamental and figural composition of the main, eastern façade of the church. This effort is also visible in the huge cross and accentuation of the middle axis. Thus, the original western façade is embedded in the general decorative system of the church.

The large vertically elongated window is also complexly profiled. Here, we can also notice deep-set relief levels of the window apron and frame. The plain and clearly cut apron of the window is made of one thick and two comparatively thin fasciae. The background for this apron is a wide band of concentrated braided strings of octagons. In turn, it is engirded with a wider and higher cut frame made of plain fasciae, accompanied by skilfully carved three-strand wickerwork.

The most noteworthy architectural and decorative element of the façade is its impressive portal.⁶ The platband of this portal with its regular proportions consists of several wide bands and deepens in perspective step-by-step towards the inside, producing a particular spatial effect. The thick three-fasciae braid on the outer portal surface (which in turn is formed from small fasciae) is cut in a less refined manner. The platband ends with slightly protruding thick twisted fasciae and is placed on a different ornamental motif: the interlacing of two-strand braids is made in such a manner that one can see various figures in the incessantly repeated ornamental wickerwork. This seemingly homogeneous pattern provides a variety of particularly vivid impulses: in some motifs the empty areas between the braiding reveal cruciform figures which are filled mainly with octofoil rosettes (or stars).

The platband next to the portal is lavishly decorated with a motif of stalactites (fig. 2). The three ranges of stalactites are placed stepwise, with their top to the door wall. The stalactite strip is decorated with a small semicircle ornament formed by three concentric circles. The third strip is composed of cut stalactitic figures. The deep profile of the stalactites increases from the lower part of the platband to the arc and attains its maximum depth close to the arc. The platband nearest to the entrance is composed of two thick fasciae and one thin fascia set on a semi-column base. It is

6 “The portal measures almost half of the width of the facade. Its width exceeds its height. The width is 3.91 m, the height 3.67 m.” (V. Beridze, *Ecclesiastic Architecture*, p. 144).

as smooth as the plain band (*i.e.*, the wall surface) separating it from the next platband. The door tympanum is also without décor. By leaving the strip directly adjacent to the door aperture and the tympanum without décor, the architect of the church emphasized the most sacral places of the church. At the same time, these plain surfaces not only emphasize, but also neutralize the intricate ornamental compositions of the portal.

It should be mentioned that the ornamental décor of the western façade is distinguished by its particular technique. Some of the ornaments, *e.g.*, the right-angle geometric ornament formed of large fasciae, and the three-fasciae braiding strips and stalactites of the portal, with their clear contours create an austere impression (fig. 3). The lacy ornaments of the window and portal are strictly organized and reveal lightness and refinement. However, these ornaments lack the plastic strength of the fasciae fretwork of the Georgian classical period.

Now let us discuss in short those few Georgian monuments on whose façades we can see the so-called Seljuk ornamental motifs. The closest analogy of the western façade portal of St. Peter and Paul Church in Sagarejo is the western portal of St. Nicholas Church in Kvemo Nichbisi (17th century).⁷ All platbands of the portal are protruding with each step. However, there is no stalactite motif here. The two exterior platbands are smooth, and instead of a three fasciae braid, a three-tape braid is used. In the twisted ornament band directly engirding the door aperture, rosettes (or stars) are inserted, like in Sagarejo. The western portal of the upper church of Goruli (second half of the 17th century)⁸ is also decorated with Seljuk-like ornamental motifs. Noteworthy is the Seljuk character of the twisted fascia of the platband on the western portal, which is alien to Georgian architecture: the direction of the twist changes several times. Such fasciae may be seen on the western portal of St. Nicholas Church in Kvemo Nichbisi as well.

Earlier, separate motifs of the Seljuk-like ornament are met only sporadically. The decorative system of the southern and western entrances of Akhtala Church⁹, built in the 1720s (now on the territory of Armenia), namely, their complex profiling and some other elements, remind us of Armenian and Seljuk-like portals. Nevertheless, the forms applied at the cathedral do not reflect the picturesque effect of its prototype monuments.¹⁰ We also meet Seljuk motifs in the architectural ornaments of the façades of the Metechi Church (late 13th century) and Borjomi Church (early 14th century) in Tbilisi¹¹, where stars are included in the geometrical ornaments.¹²

7 V. Beridze, *op. cit.*, pp. 86–90.

8 *Op. cit.*, pp. 68–72.

9 R. O. Schmerling, K voprosu o kharakteristike glavnogo khrama Akhtaly kak pamyatnika pograničnogo raiona Gruzii i Armenii. In: *Amierkavasiis problemebi* [Problems of the South Caucasus], 1991, p. 227.

10 *Op. cit.*, p. 227.

11 R. O. Schmerling, *Georgian Architectural Ornament*, Tbilisi 1954, p. 10 [in Georgian]; R. O. Schmerling, Postroika molaret-ukhutsesa tsarya Georgiya Blistatel'nogo v selenii Daba Borzhomskogo raiona. In: *QarTuli xelvneba* [Georgian Art], 1948. No. 2, pp. 111–122.

According to R. Schmerling, those motifs “represent the direct or partly modified reiteration of the ornament characteristic for Seljuk architecture”.¹³ When discussing the Akhtala Church portal, Schmerling concludes that the Seljuk portal theme that is foreign to the Georgian national style has spread in Georgia from Armenia and subsequently developed special national traits and new forms.¹⁴

Indeed, in neighbouring Armenia, where relations with the Islamic world were much closer, we may find many monuments reflecting the process of interchange between Armenian and Seljuk architecture and art of decoration¹⁵ (Akhtamar, Ani, Zhamatuni, and others). Architectural-ornamental stone designs in the Seljuk style were developed in Armenia much earlier than in Georgia, and have survived in Armenian monuments for centuries, even well up to the 19th century, making them almost a tradition.

In addition, the independent political and cultural contacts of Georgia with the Islamic countries have to be taken into consideration. Following the historical realities of Georgia, the influence of Islamic art on Georgian art, though not particularly significant, was more pronounced in the 17th century. This influence was evident in architecture and secular miniature painting, as well as in everyday life and clothing. Nevertheless, the Seljuk ornamental décor was not accepted and developed organically. It was not widely spread and remained an exotic decorative element in Georgian art.

Among Armenian monuments many interesting parallels with Seljuk ornamentation may be found: in Arichevank (1201), Sanahin (1181), Akhpata Monastery (1245), Amagu-Noravank (1261–1331), Ani, Geghard (13th century), Eghvard (14th century), and others. The closest parallel with the Seljuk ornament in question is found in the decoration of the southern portal of St. George Church in Mughani (1661)¹⁶ and the portal of the church in the village of Lori (Zangezour)¹⁷ built in 1664. Both are almost contemporaries of the St. Peter and Paul Church in Sagarejo. The ornamental motifs of the middle band of the portals of those churches repeat each other with high accuracy: a basket-wise braid on the geometrical wickerwork with stars (rosettes) inside its internal structure. The middle band of the western portal of St. Peter and Paul Church in Sagarejo has almost the same ornamental motif, with the difference that the braid is put more loosely on the background, making it more transparent. In the Armenian monuments the ornamental braiding is so close that the

12 We find some motifs of the so called Seljuk ornaments in the Samtskhe architecture, namely on the façade of the church in Chule (1381); V. Beridze, *Samtskhe Architecture, XIII–XIV centuries*, Tbilisi 1955, p. 227 [in Georgian].

13 R. O. Schmerling, *Georgian Architectural Ornament*, p. 10.

14 *Op. cit.*, p. 227.

15 Katharina Otto-Dorn, Figural Stone Relief on Seljuk Sacred Architecture in Anatolia. In: *Kunst des Orients* 12, 1978/1979 (1980), pp. 103–149.

16 V. M. Arutyunyan, S. A. Safaryan, *Pamyatniki armyanskogo zodchestva*, Moskva 1951; O. Kh. Khalpakhch'yan, *Arkhitekturnye ansambli Armenii*, Moskva 1980.

17 A. L. Yakobson, *Ocherk istorii zodchestva Armenii V–XVII vekov*, Moskva–Leningrad 1950.

background is hardly visible. In addition, on the Georgian monument the stars in the ornamental band are placed in two rows with alternating motifs. Here, the ornament profile is made with much less depth (unlike the deep profile of the Armenian monuments) and covers the wall surface in a lighter, lacy layer.

A very close parallel to the stalactites in the ornamental décor of the western portal of the church in Sagarejo can also be found in the decoration system of the portals of the church in the village of Lori (Zangezour) and of Mughani Church (1661). Based on these similarities we can assume that the décor of the portals was made according to a general formula or design used with some variations by the craftsmen both in Georgia and Armenia. The sequence of the decorative bands of portals is the following (with individual varieties)¹⁸: the external band is decorated with thick three-strand (three-fasciae in Sagarejo) braid; next to it is the twisted fascia, spirally twisted in different directions with an interval on the portals of Mughani Church, St. Nicholas Church in Nichbisi, and Goruli Church (in the Sagarejo church the fascia is twisted in one direction); in most Armenian monuments the following step is stalactites (if any), and in Georgian monuments, *vice versa*, first a braid made of the geometric ornament (with stars inside) and then stalactites.

It is hard to determine precisely who executed the Seljuk ornamental décor of Georgian churches, whether Armenian craftsmen took part in this process together with Georgian craftsmen or not, but it is a fact that Seljuk ornamental motifs are found on monuments in various regions of Georgia over many centuries, while the Seljuk ornaments and portal on the façades of St. Nicholas Church in Kvemo Nichbisi, Goruli church, and St. Peter and Paul Church in Sagarejo, built almost at the same time, expose certain skills of performance of this foreign décor by Georgian craftsmen. According to V. Beridze, the great similarity of Seljuk ornamental motifs on the façades of these monuments is “one of the many evidences for the existence of the developed traditions of a ‘school’”.¹⁹

Researchers of Islamic art have described the semantics of the Seljuk ornaments visible on prototype monuments.²⁰ In Islamic art the ornament is distinguished by its content, a concept based on the permanently repeated confirmation of the existence of God, the superior being.²¹ Twisted ornaments with stars occupy a particular place

18 Noteworthy is that the external band of the Mughani portal (unlike the Sagarejo portal where the external band is protruding) is cut in the wall of the church at a small step, while the next step is placed in the depth of the wall.

19 V. Beridze, *Ecclesiastic Architecture*, p. 146.

20 Semra Ögel, Einige Bemerkungen zum Sternsystem in der Steinornamentik der anatolischen Seldschuken. In: *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte Asiens*, Istanbul 1963; E. Neubert, Islamische Sternflechtornamente. In: *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, 30. Jg., Heft 3, März 1956; Katharina Otto-Dorn, Figural Stone Relief on Seljuk Sacred Architecture in Anatolia. In: *Kunst des Orients* 12, 1978/1979 (1980), pp. 103–149; A. Ertug (ed.), *The Seljuks. A Journey through Anatolian Architecture*, Istanbul 1991.

21 S. Ögel, Einige Bemerkungen, p. 147.

in Seljuk architecture. These ornaments combine endless interlacing regular lines, stars, and raying suns to represent the planet system with its structural regularity and eternity reflecting the absolute order of the universe.

We do not know how deep the knowledge of Seljuk ornamental symbols in Georgia was and whether the craftsmen knowingly applied these ornaments and symbols on Georgian monuments.²² In Turkey and Iran many original monuments are decorated with such ornaments, *e.g.*, Alaeddin Camii in Niğde (1223), Ulu Cami in Divriği (1228/29), and the portal of the Hakkı Kılıç Medrese in Kayseri (13th century). The Georgian examples are closer to the portals of the Sultan Han (Kayseri-Sivas) and the Kale Camii in Divriği (both 13th century), and thus to a certain degree reflect the original character of the Seljuk decoration.²³

St. Peter and Paul Church in Sagarejo is a noteworthy monument not only from the aspect of iconography permeated with important Christian symbols typical for the Georgian façade sculpture of Georgia's Golden Age (*i.e.*, the so-called Georgian Renaissance, 12th to early 13th centuries), implemented on its eastern and southern façades, but also from the aspect of Seljuk ornamental décors on the western portal of the church. It is obvious that at a difficult historical and political stage, Georgian art was able to integrate foreign artistic motives, as the craftsman used the explicit Seljuk ornaments only on one façade of the church.

The existence of Seljuk ornamental sculpture on Georgian churches is an important fact. These monuments reveal the place of Georgian culture at the intersection of different cultures, between the East and the West.

22 In my view, this abstracting, expressive language of Seljuk ornaments is suitable to express the absolute order of the cosmos in Georgian monuments.

23 On the Islamic monuments of a later period – Ahmet Gazi Medrese (1375) in Peçin (Beçim) near Milas (Milet), Jehel Sutun Palace (17th century) in Isfahan, and Ishak Paşa Palace (Doğubeyazit, 18th century) – the ornamental décor acquires completely different forms, and thus, they cannot be compared to Georgian monuments.

Qajar Paintings from the Collection of the Shalva Amiranashvili State Museum of Art of Georgia

Irina Koshoridze

Persian oil painting of the 18th–19th centuries occupies an important place not only in the art history of Iran but also of the whole world. The works are often called Qajar art or Persian Royal paintings because this style developed during the reign of the Qajars, a Royal Persian dynasty.¹

Qajar art is well represented in the collections of the Department of Oriental Art of the Georgian State Museum of Art. Full-length paintings from the period of the Zand (second half of the 18th century) and the Qajar (19th century) dynasties are acknowledged as real gems that occupy a very important place among the world's best oil paintings.²

The Qajar style was very much influenced by the Zand paintings, despite the political confrontation between these two dynasties. The artistic language of the Zand epoch manifested itself in strikingly soft and refined forms, an abundance of details, and a colourful manner of execution. Its lyrical and erotic scenes were successfully adopted by the Qajar School, although its decorative and monumental style was even more refined.³

Several topics and images are frequently repeated in the Qajar paintings of the period of Fath 'Ali Shah, such as official portraits of Fath 'Ali Shah, or the Shah with his nobles, family members, and performing dancers and musicians.

The Persian collection of the Georgian Museum of Art includes works reflecting all stages of development of the Qajar School of painting. The Museum has in its holdings about 50 oil paintings, about 1,000 miniatures, and 400 lacquer paintings of which a greater part has not yet been catalogued.⁴ A volume of oil paintings, published by Sh. Amiranashvili in 1940 in the book "Iranian Oil Paintings" (in Russian), is the earliest and standard work in this field. In 1941, the same author published another book, "Iranian Painting" (in Russian). We also have to mention three little postcard-sized albums, published in 1935–36, representing Iranian paintings that were chosen by Sh. Amiranashvili himself. All three publications are now extremely rare.⁵

1 Busse 1972, pp. 65–70; *Royal Persian Painting* 1999, pp. 30–49.

2 Adle 1996, p. 247.

3 Diba 1989, p. 147; *Royal Persian Painting* 1999, pp. 147–218; Robinson 1993, pp. 177–205.

4 Just recently we published the highlights of our painting collection, see *Qajar Portraits* 2005.

5 Amiranashvili 1936; Amiranashvili 1940; Amiranashvili 1941.

The present-day interest in the Qajar paintings of the Georgian Art Museum reflects the special interest of the public in Qajar Art in general. In 1998–1999, exhibitions of Iranian royal imagery representing the most important collections of Qajar paintings from various private and state collections were held in New York, Los Angeles, and London.⁶ Due to a number of difficulties, the collection of the Georgian Museum of Art was not represented. Therefore, publishing the best works of this collection will familiarize connoisseurs with further masterpieces of Qajar art. We have tried to select the best samples of our collection to represent all stages of the development of Qajar painting.

Two official portraits of the Qajar Shahs kept in the Museum of Art along with many miniatures and lacquer portraits of Qajar sovereigns make the collection especially attractive. The first official portrait represents the Shah sitting in an armchair on a balcony. He is dressed in lavishly adorned official garments and is wearing jewellery and a crown called *Taj-i Kiyani*. Formerly, this portrait was identified by Sh. Amiranashvili as a portrait of Fath ‘Ali Shah (1797–1834). Recent research and new materials allow us to revise this opinion and identify it as one of the very rare official portraits of Muhammad Shah (1834–48, fig. 6), which was created in the first years of his reign and in which he still wears the traditional Qajar royal dress, adorning jewellery, and crown, specially created for the Qajar sovereigns.⁷

The second official portrait is entirely different from the first one. Fath ‘Ali Shah is sitting on a cushion. Although the painting repeats the early Qajar period iconographical type of “Fath ‘Ali Shah sitting on a carpet”, the quality of the painting indicates that it was painted in the 1850s for the Erevan Sardar Palace by a local artist, Mirza Kadim Erivani.⁸

The museum houses two outstanding portraits from the 18th and 19th centuries. One of them depicts the young ‘Abbas Mirza (fig. 3), the other Feridun, the legendary hero of the “Shahnameh” (fig. 4). These pictures reveal both a halftone mellow modelling of the faces, characteristic of the paintings of the Zand period, and typical ceremonial costumes in loud and colourful tones as well as various other typical Qajar attributes. The portrait of Feridun is signed by the painter Haji Agha Jan.

The painting “Audience at the Court of the Shah” has the size of an easel painting (105 x 75cm), and it has traits that link it with the European-influenced academic painting style (the setting on the open balcony, a cloudy landscape, a European person in the composition). But at the same time the painting stands closer to miniature art in that it expresses some dualism in the vision. The principles of miniature and easel painting coexist in it.

Two other paintings, “Musician” (fig. 5) and “Woman with a Deer”, are more consistent with the principles of easel painting. The background and the figure are

6 *Royal Persian Painting* 1999.

7 Koshoridze 2005, pp. 180–183.

8 Adle 1996, pp. 357–365.

slightly turned to the depth of the picture introducing a perspective characteristic of European art. Mellow modelling of forms, the result of European influence, converges with an effort to represent details and attributes of costume characteristic of Iranian art.

The portraits of dancers, musicians, and Persian beauties (“Woman with a Mirror”, “Woman with *golabdan*” (fig. 1), “Dancer with Castanets” (fig. 2), “Dancer with a Tambourine”, and “A Dancer”) kept in the Museum of Art are among the best works of early Qajar painting, recognized for their refined, bright, decorative, and colourful artistic style. Although all these portraits have a common style, it is, nevertheless, possible to distinguish different artists with their particular manner of painting. The pictures “Woman with a Mirror” and “Woman with *golabdan*” are probably from the same artist. These works are similar to those of Muhammad Hasan.⁹ The portraits “Dancer with Castanets” and “Dancer with a Tambourine” are analogous to the portrait “A Dancer” kept in the Hermitage (St. Petersburg) and are presumably by the same artist.¹⁰ Other paintings, like “Sisters”, “Young Woman with a Parrot”, and “Young Man with a Falcon”, also belong to the early 19th century. These paintings have more decorative motifs, they are more colourful, emphasizing graphical, linear forms, and they are characterized by a strikingly refined vision.

After Fath ‘Ali Shah’s grandson Muhammad Shah ascended the throne (1834–1848), certain changes occurred in the official style of Qajar art. Although the Qajar painting of this period generally maintains the subjects and features typical for the Fath ‘Ali Shah period, yet there appear new topics, and the attitude towards painting changes. Painting acquires features characteristic of easel painting, introducing a change in the composition and the modelling of forms. There are five paintings of this period in the collection of the Museum of Art, each of them representing a particular stage in the development of the Qajar style. The picture “Woman with Tambourine” continues the topic of dancers and musicians so very popular during Fath ‘Ali Shah’s reign. The woman is dressed in the traditional clothes of that period, although her personality and the more open manner of painting suggest that it can be ascribed to Muhammad Shah’s reign, to the so-called circle of the “Shirin Master”.¹¹ The painting “A Dancer” is different. It reflects the traditional full-length figure standing on a balcony, but at the same time there are some changes: the woman is dressed in a crinoline dress and the colours of the painting are also different. Reds and greens predominate, supplanting the bright, gaudy colours that gave such unmitigated decorativeness to the paintings of the previous period. The manner of painting is also different – the forms are flatter, more graphical, and rough.

9 Falk 1972, ill. 30–31; *Royal Persian Painting* 1999, p. 208, ill. 58.

10 *Op. cit.*, p. 209, ill. 59.

11 Falk 1972, ill. 47; *Royal Persian Painting* 1999, pp. 227–228, ill. 69.

Lovers' portraits again appear in Qajar painting in the time of Muhammad Shah.¹² Two oil paintings of this kind are in the museum's collection. They represent full-length figures of lovers with a servant (fig. 7). Both portraits are similar in composition and execution, and presumably they were painted by the same artist. They resemble the oil paintings of Fath 'Ali Shah's time in style, and they were probably executed in the early years of Muhammad Shah's reign. These portraits exhibit a high degree of professionalism and refined taste and are acknowledged as among the best examples of that period.

The oil painting "Woman with her Servant" is related to the so-called folk style genre and has a very ingenuous, unequivocal, poetic vision.

In 1848 Nasir al-Din Shah (1848–98) acceded to the throne and during his reign, the development of art attracted his attention. A new, classical type of art academy was founded in 1850, and Iranian works began to show the influence of European techniques including easel painting.¹³ Ceremonial, large scale portraits were still produced along with miniatures and lacquer artworks. Iranian garments also underwent changes with the introduction of waist-cut clothes, lavishly decorated "buta" motifs, and fur trimmed clothes for men and women.¹⁴

"Layla and Majnun" continues the theme of lovers in a style that more closely resembles easel painting and is more personalized than previous Qajar works. A portrait of a dignitary by Husaini is another notable work of this period that shows considerable European influence. The artist is a highly skilled professional, well versed in the technique of oil painting and able to give an interesting psychological characterization to his model.

Two oil paintings called "Spring" by Abu 'l-Kasim Isfahani (fig. 8) show the influence of miniature and lacquer paintings despite their large size. Although one of them depicts Nasir al-Din's crown, the inscriptions on both paintings reveal that they were executed in 1901/02.

Stylistically different portraits are "Youth in Black" and "Woman with a Child" (fig. 9). Despite certain similarities in composition and detail (the robes of the young man) with Qajar paintings, the paintings differ in their laconic, reserved colour and the modelling of forms. Both portraits have much in common with Georgian secular oil painting of the 18th and 19th centuries which supports Sh. Amiranashvili's suggestion, put forward in the 1940s, that they belong to the Georgian-Iranian school of painting.¹⁵

The existence of such a lavish and multifarious Iranian collection in Georgia is, without doubt, due to the close links between these two countries. For centuries, hundreds of Georgians worked in Iran and played an important role in the political

12 Falk 1972, fig. 49.

13 Ekhtiar 2001, pp. 153–56.

14 Vogelsang-Eastwood/Ferydoun 2002, p. 27.

15 Koshoridze 2003, pp. 110–128; Koshoridze 2004, pp. 137–154.

and cultural life of the country. At the same time, the Oriental life style was introduced to Georgia mostly from Iran.

The result of such close historical interaction is the splendid collection of late Iranian works of art in the Shalva Amiranashvili Georgian State Museum of Art. Some of these works were sent to Georgia as presents, and others were collected and preserved by the Georgians themselves, which is a proof of the century-old relations between these two nations.

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Figures



1. Tbilisi, Georgia: View of a house decorated with a Muqarnas frieze (late 19th century)



2. Detail of the Muqarnas frieze



3. Door knocker, formerly at the main portal of the Ulu Cami in Cizre, Turkey



4. Interior, Khan Saray in Bahçesaray, Crimea



5. Qajar wall hanging (Museum of Western and Eastern Art, Odessa)



6. Bronze casket, 14th century (Bohdan and Varvara Khanenko Museum, Kiev)



1. Akkerman Fortress, Ukraine



2. Akkerman Fortress, the citadel and garrison yard



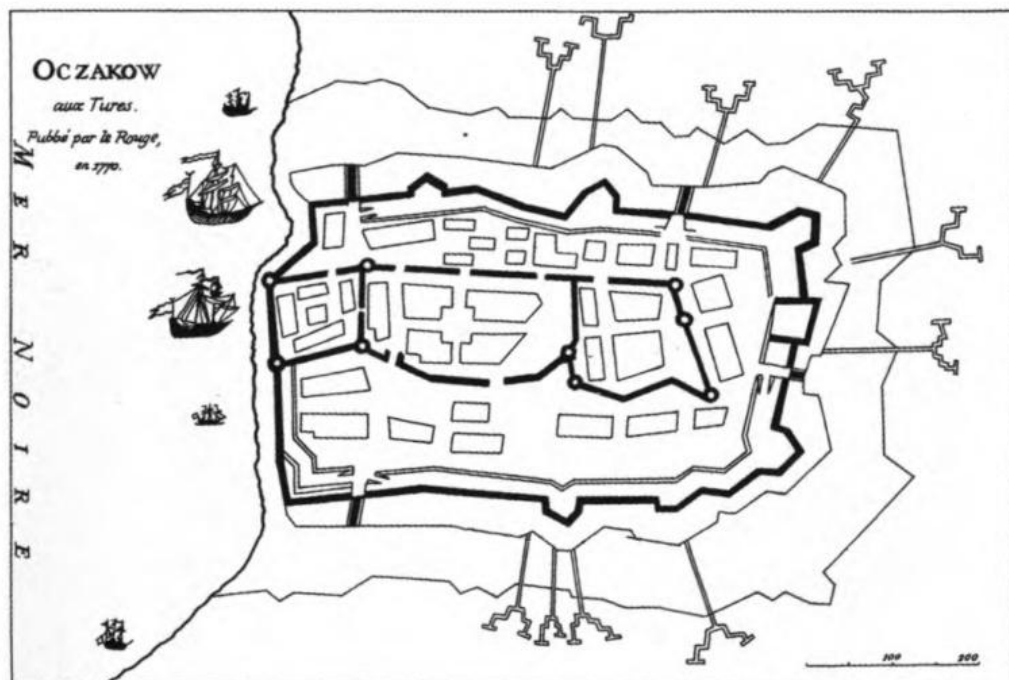
3. Akkerman Fortress, minaret of the mosque (late 15th century)



4. Akkerman Fortress, the port yard



5. Akkerman Fortress, the barbican



1. Ochakiv, Ukraine, plan of 1770



2. Ochakiv, Turkish coin from the period of Suleyman II (1687-1691)



3. Cornelian stone, probably from a signet ring, engraved with a negative Neski inscription, *Ismail*, dated 1163 (1750)



4. Ceramic tile from Iznik, found in Ochakiv



5. Ceramic cup from Kütahya, found in Ochakiv



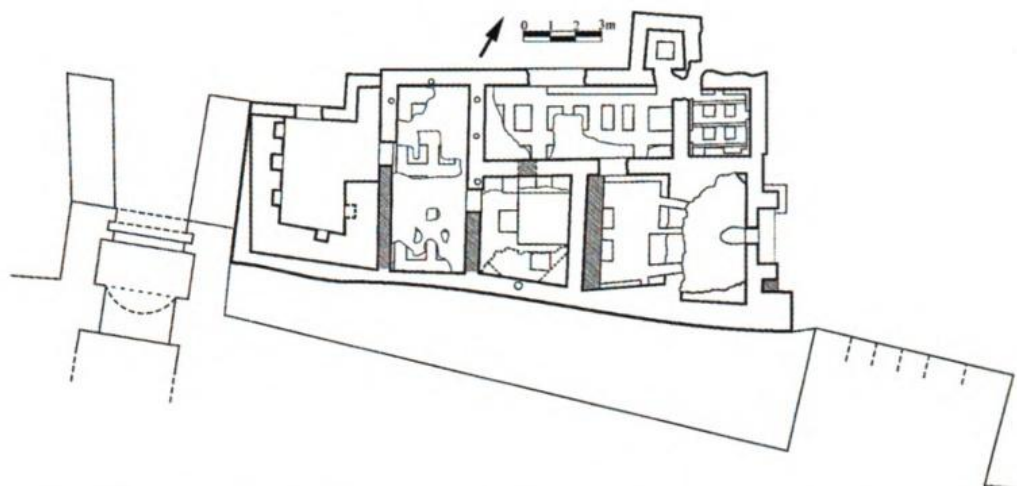
6. Chinese ware found in Ochakiv



7. Pipe made of jade



8. Meerschaum pipe with incrustations



9. Akkerman Fortress, Ukraine, Ottoman-Turkish bath in the port yard, plan of the hot room (*sıcaklık*)



10. Gold coin found in Akkerman, dated 1004 (1595/96), minted in Constantinople



1. Remains of a clay oven (*tandyr*) found in Torgovytsa, Ukraine



2. Remains of a water pipe excavated in Torgovytsa



3. Silver (*dirhem*) and bronze coins (*pul*) from the Turkish bath in Torgovytsa



1. Kerch Gate at the fortress of Yeni Kale, Kerch, Ukraine



2. Padişah Bey Mosque in Sudak, Crimea



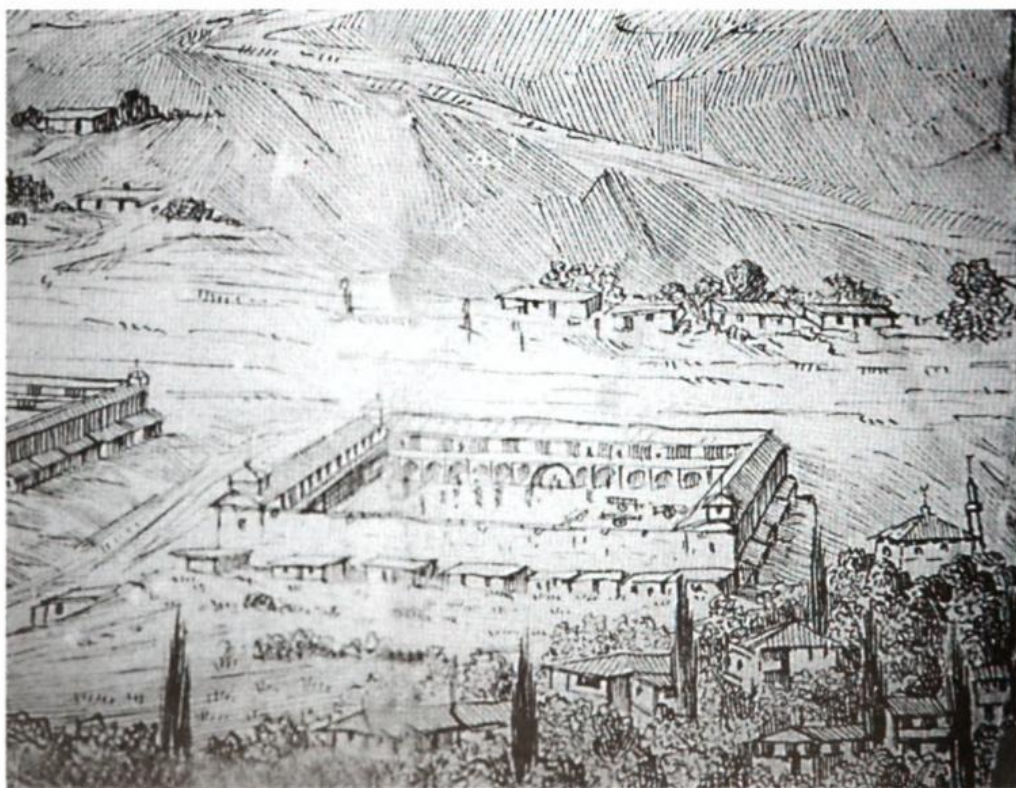
3. Minaret in Partenit, Crimea



4. Taş Han in Karasubazar (Bilohorsk), Crimea



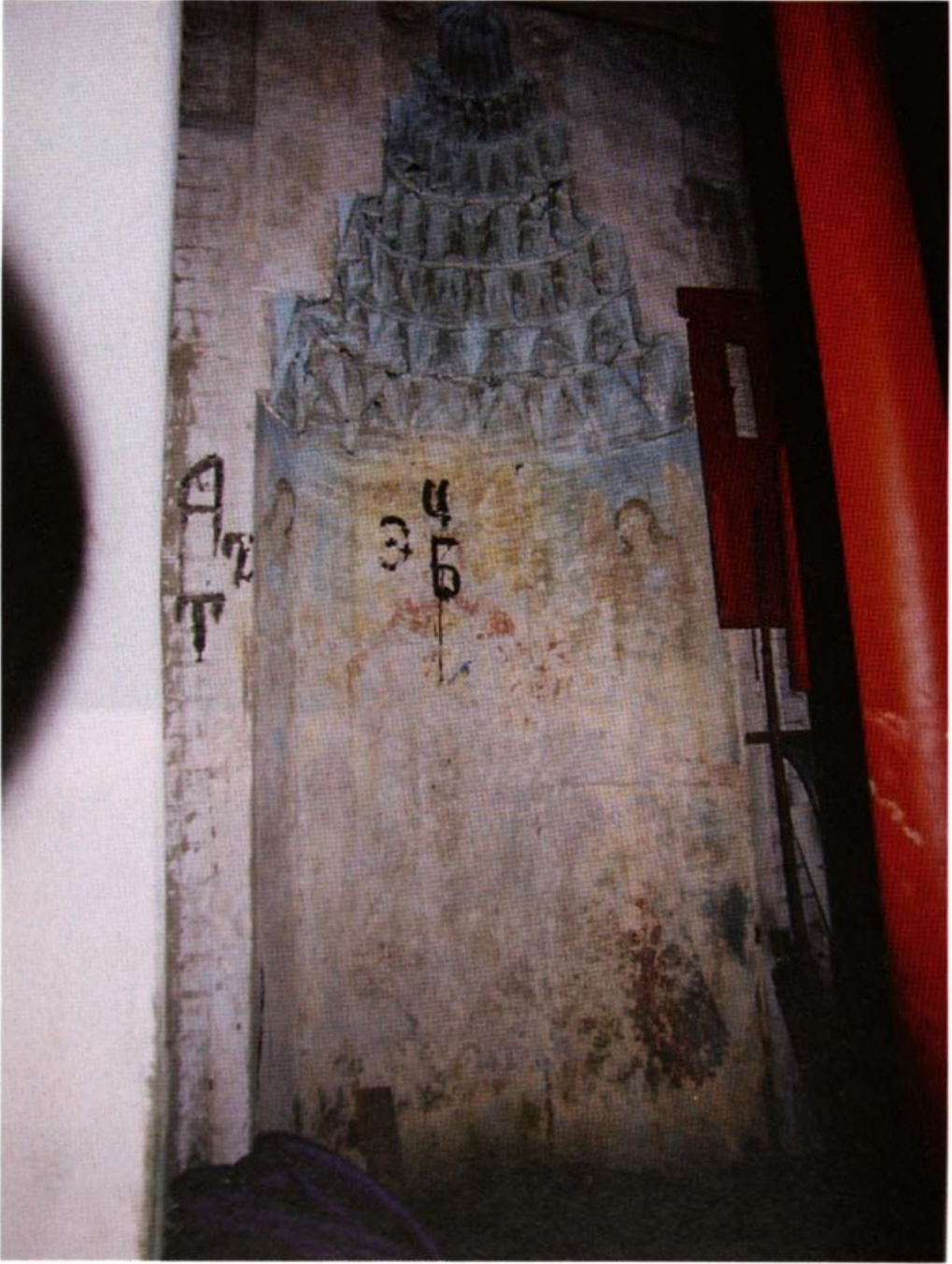
5. Tekke in Gözleve (Evpatoriya), Crimea



6. Caravanserai in Bahçesaray, Crimea (copy of an engraving, 17th century)



1. Façade of the Small Mosque in Ismail, Ukraine



2. *Mihrab* of the Small Mosque in Ismail



3. Ottoman period tombstones kept at the Archaeological Museum in Odessa



4. Minaret in front of the St. Peter and Paul's Cathedral in Kamanıçe (Kamenets Podolskii), Ukraine



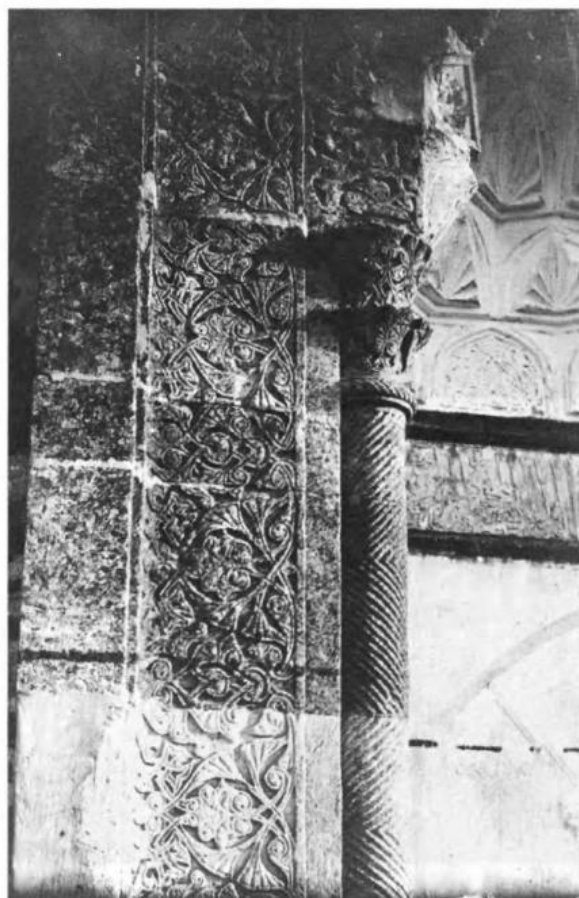
5. *Mimbar* in the St. Peter and Paul's Cathedral in Kamanıç



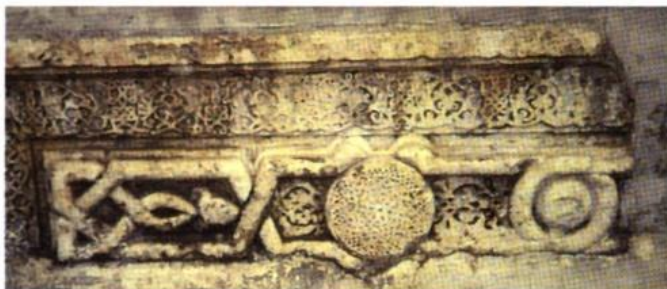
6. Guard-house, Hotin (Khotin) Castle, Ukraine



1. Portal of the mosque of Uzbek Khan (1314), Solkhat (Staryi Krym), Crimea



2. Detail of the portal (left-hand side), mosque of Uzbek Khan



3. Detail of platband, fountain in the settlement of Uyutnoe near Sudak, Crimea



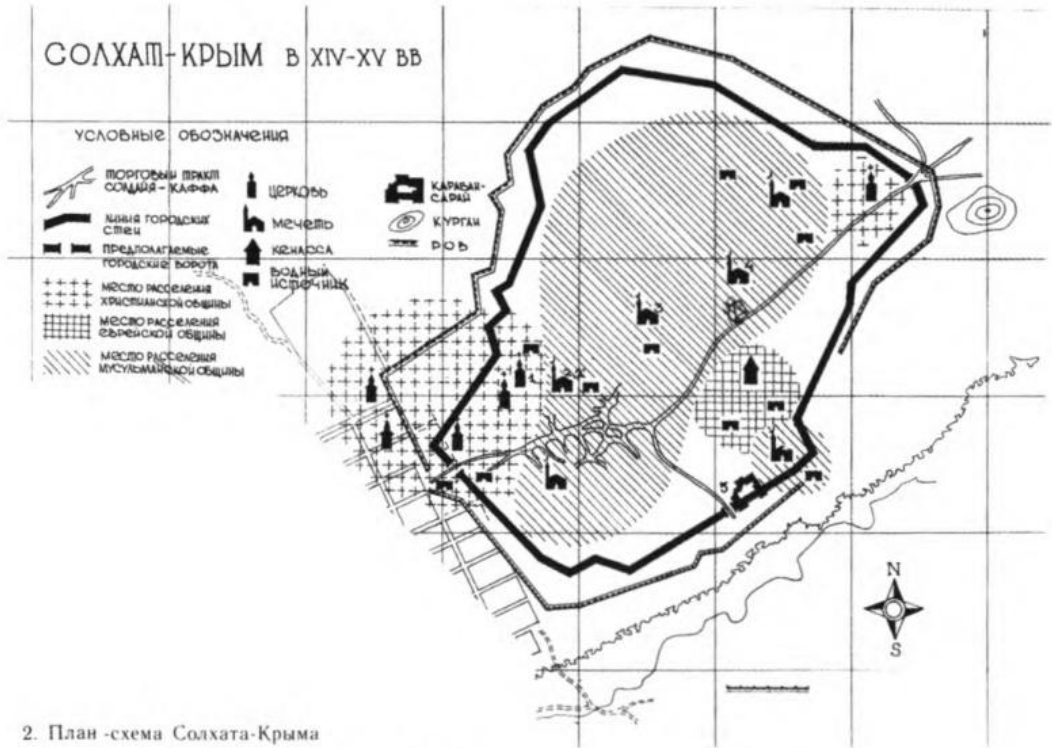
4. Mausoleum of Hajji Giray Khan (1501), Salachik-Bakhchisarai, Crimea, general view



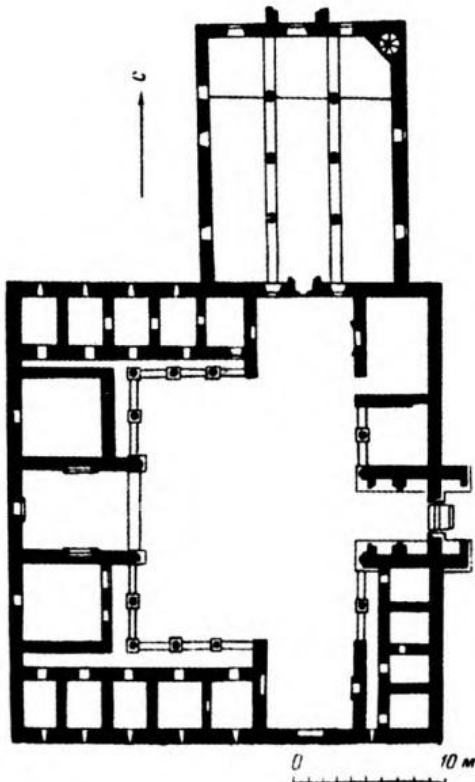
5. Carved portal of the mausoleum of Hajji Giray Khan, Salachik/ Bakhchisarai

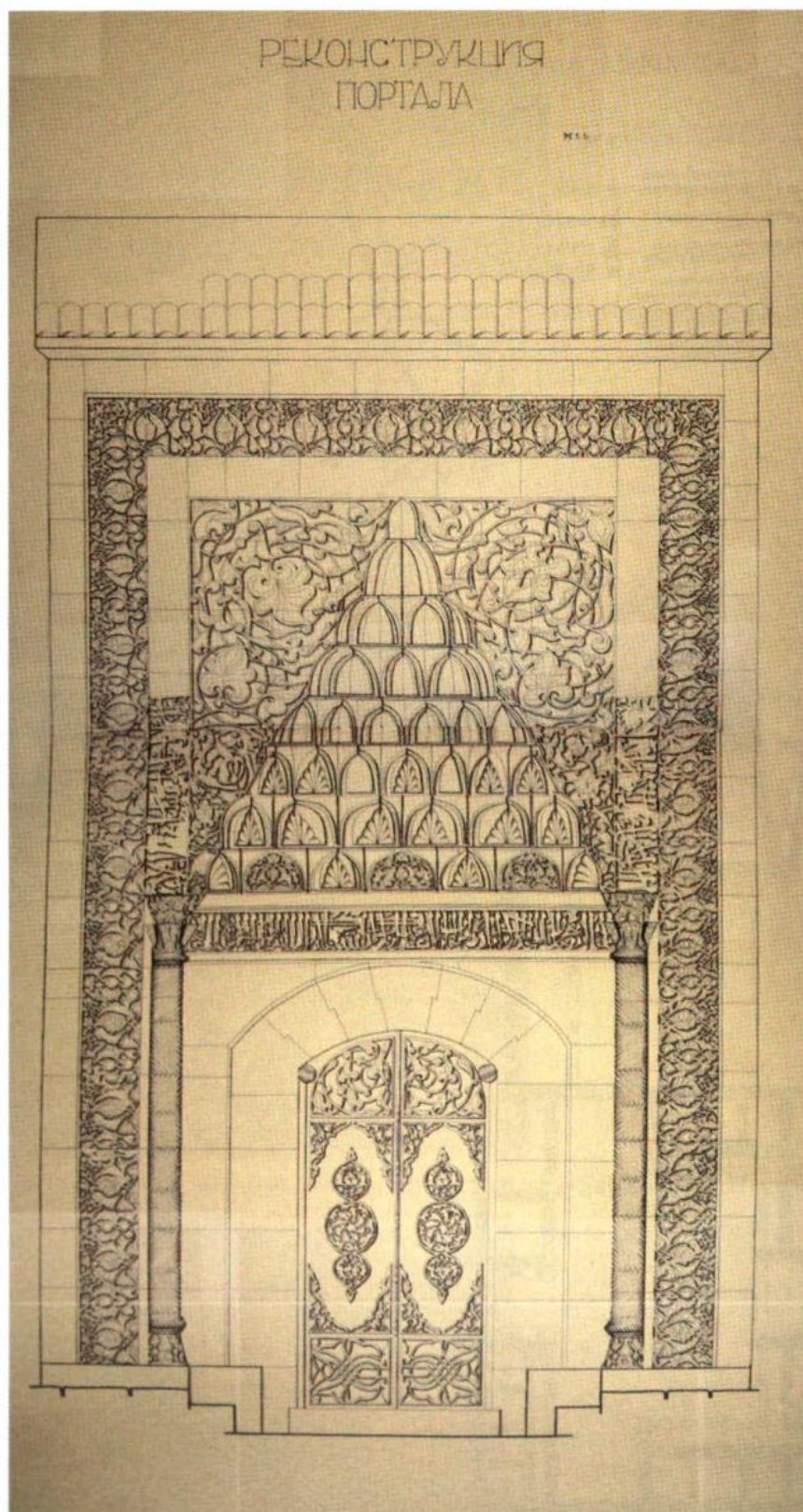


6. Gravestones at the Khan Saray cemetery in Bakhchisarai, Crimea

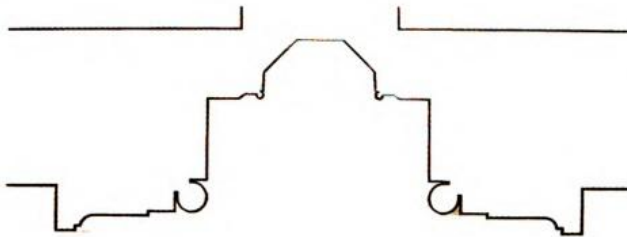
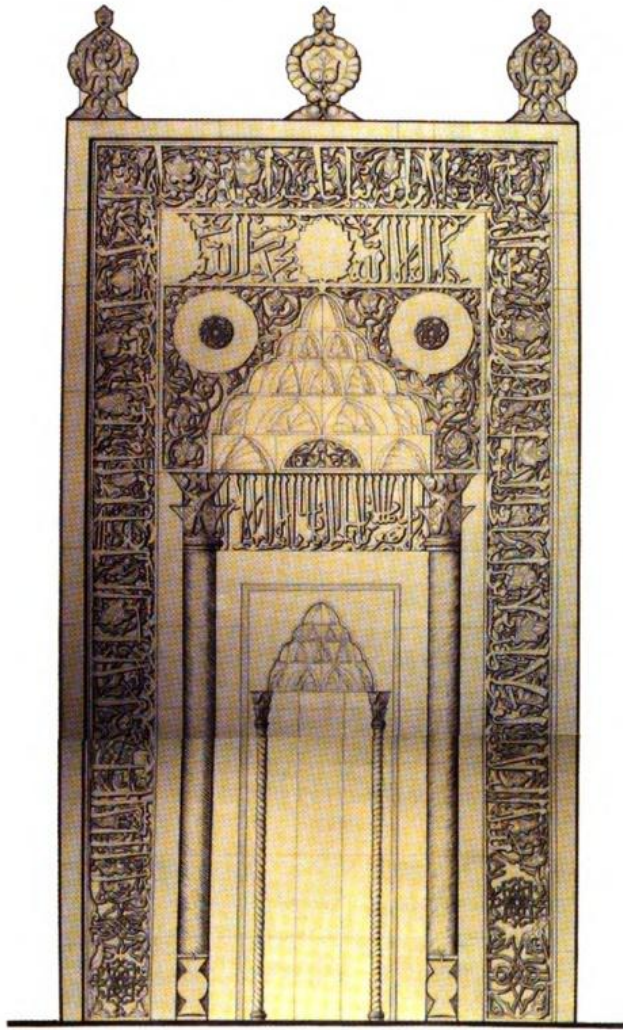


1. Plan of Solkhat, Crimea, in the 14th/15th centuries (reconstruction)

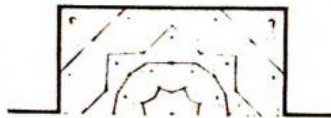




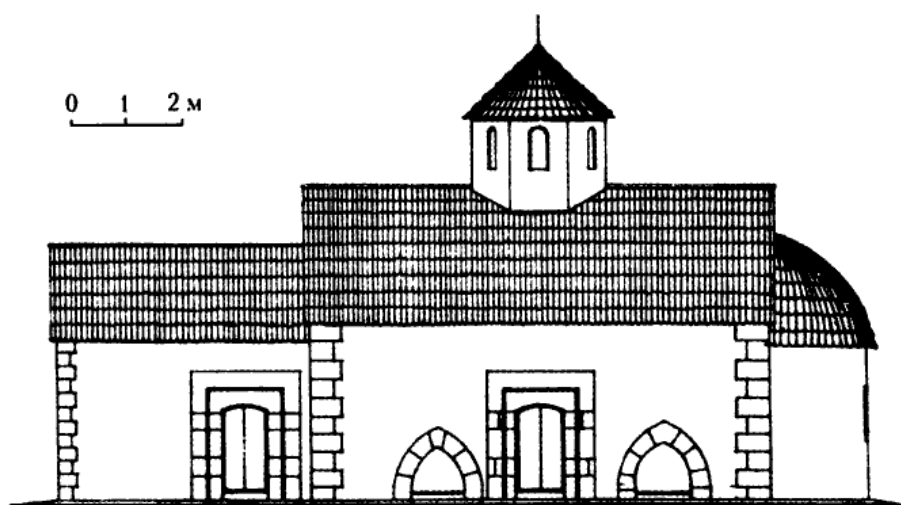
3. Reconstruction of the portal of the mosque of Uzbek Khan (1314), Solkhat



План ступенчатого м. 15

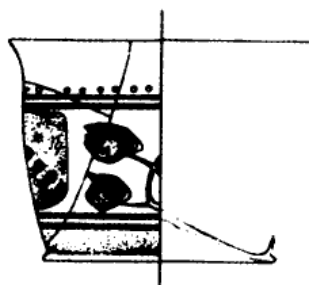


4. Reconstruction of the *mihrab* in the Uzbek Khan Mosque, Solkhat

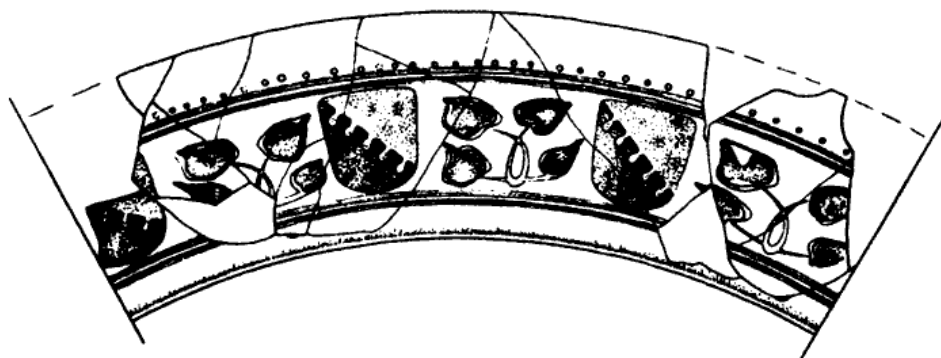


Солхат. Южный фасад храма. Реконструкция

5. Orthodox basilica in Solkhat: reconstruction of the *arcosolia* in the southern wall



**Крым (Бокаташ II). Фрагмент
стеклянного кубка. Начало XIV в.
Прорисовка**



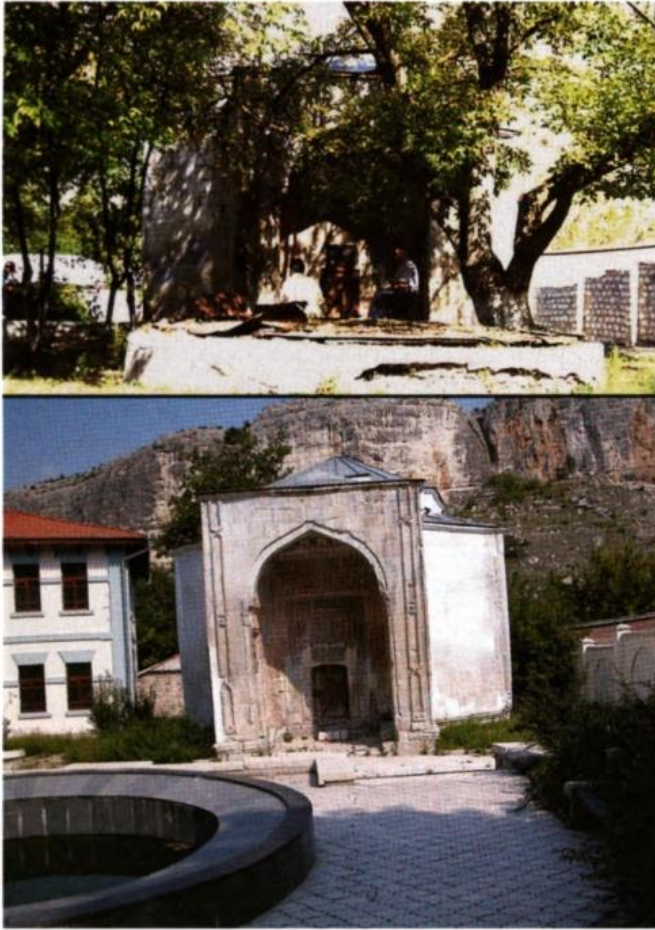
6. Fragment of a glass tumbler found in a rural settlement near Solkhat
(probably made in Venice)



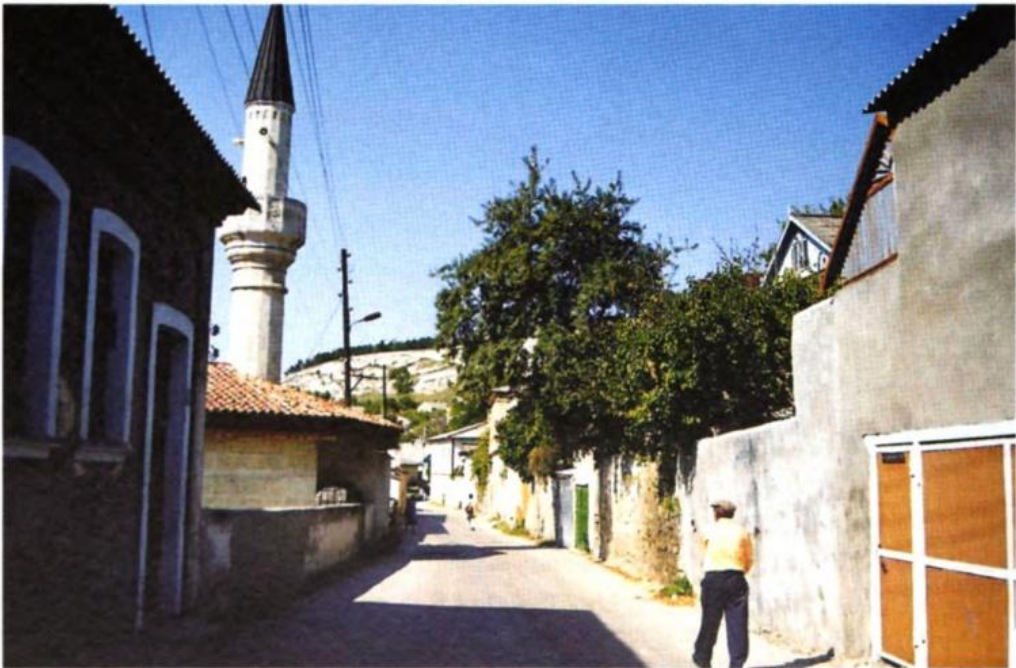
1. Architectural fragments excavated in the neighbourhood of Bahçesaray, Crimea (Hansaray Museum)



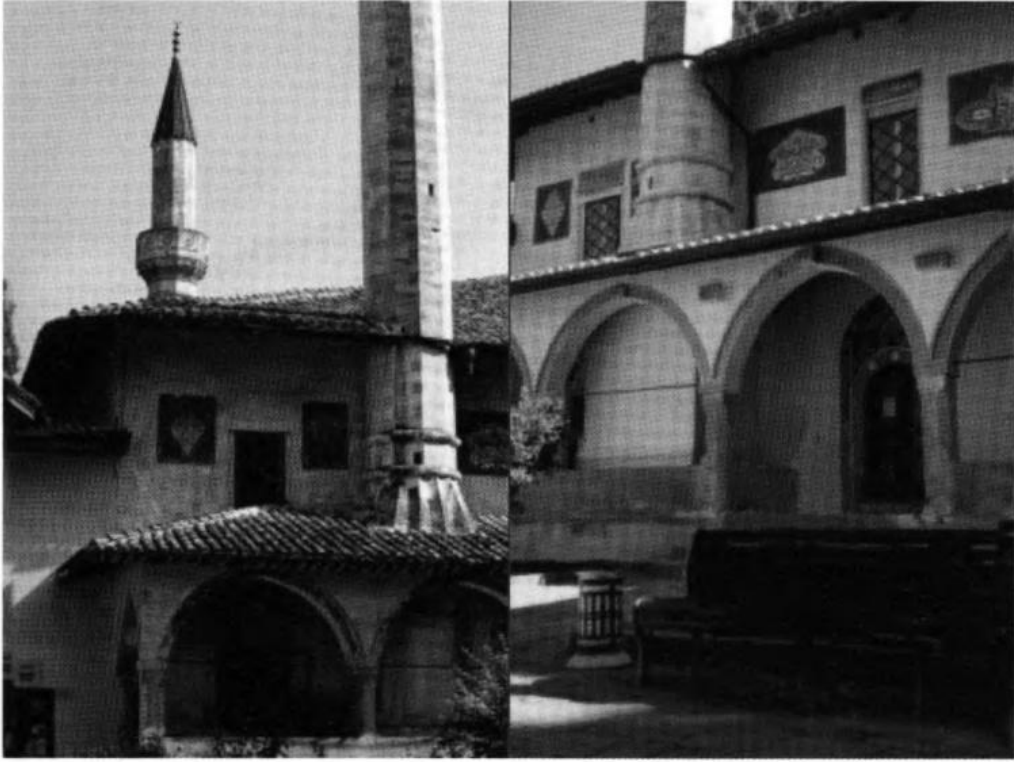
2. Grave stones found in the neighbourhood of Bahçesaray, Crimea (Hansaray Museum)



3. Mausoleum (*türbe*) of Mengli Geray Khan I (before and during restoration), Bahçesaray



4. Street in Bahçesaray: On the left a small mosque, on the right traditional houses with typical small orchards



5. Hansaray Mosque (before and after restoration), Bahçesaray



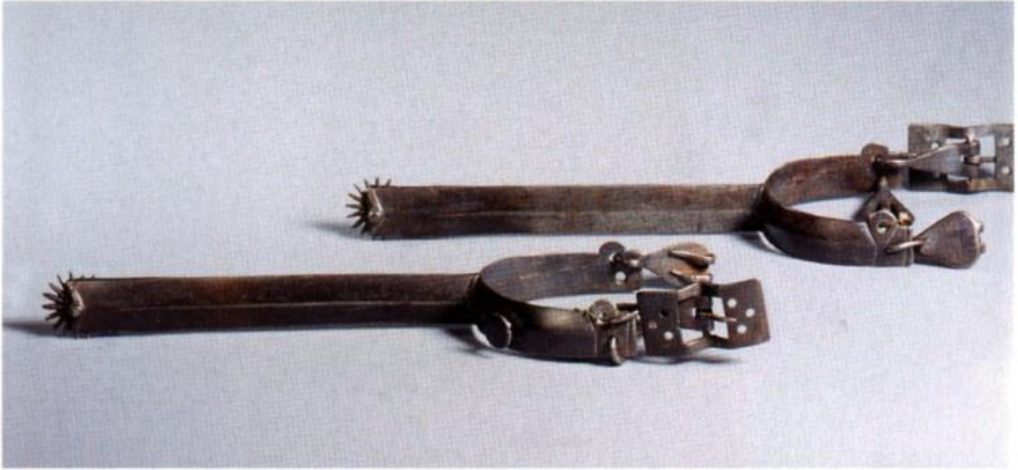
6. Mausoleum (*türbe*) of Dilara Bikeç, Bahçesaray



1. *Misiurka* (helmet), probably of Tatar origin, 16th century (Rüstammer, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden [= RK, StKD]; Inv.-No. Y 2a)



2. Sash made of silk, length: 360 cm, uncertain origin,
16th century (RK, StKD: Inv.-No. I 76)



3. Ottoman or Tatar spurs, 16th century (RK, StKD: Inv.-No. L 342)



4. Ottoman or Tatar arm guard for a left arm, made of copper plates, velvet, and satin, 16th century (RK, StKD: Inv.-No. Y 9)



5. Ottoman sabre with scabbard and belt, 16th century
(RK, StKD: Inv.-No. Y 39)



6. Tatar bow case and quiver, early 17th century
(RK, StKD: Inv.-No. Y 175)



7. Ottoman box stirrups, silver, 1703–1714 (RK, StKD: Inv.-No. L 316)



8. Bridle of Ottoman or Tatar workmanship, leather with silver gilt mounts, 1703–1714 (RK, StKD: Inv.-No. L 138)



9. Saddle, probably of Tatar provenance, early 18th century (RK, StKD: Inv.-No. L 50)



10. Detail of saddle (cf. fig. 9): pommel decorated with brass mounts
(RK, StKD: Inv.-No. L 50)



11. Leather saddle flaps (cf. fig. 9–10) (RK, StKD: Inv.-No. L 50)



12. Ottoman sabre and its scabbard,
early 18th century
(RK, StKD: Inv.-No. Y 94)



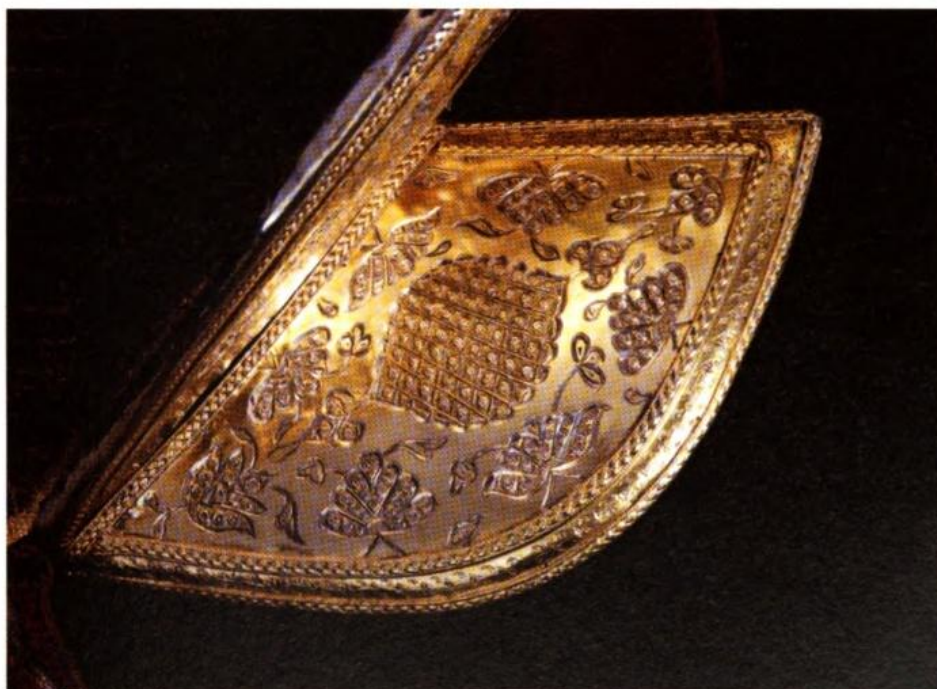
13. "Tatar-Kirgiz sabre" with scabbard,
early 18th century
(RK, StKD: Inv.-No. Y 67)



14. Tatar knife with scabbard and belt, early 18th century
(RK, StKD: Inv.-No. Y 135)



15. Saddle, described in the inventory as an "old Turkish, so-called Courland saddle", mid-18th century (RK, StKD: Inv.-No. L 626)



16. Detail of the saddle (cf. fig. 15): cantle (RK, StKD: Inv.-No. L 626)



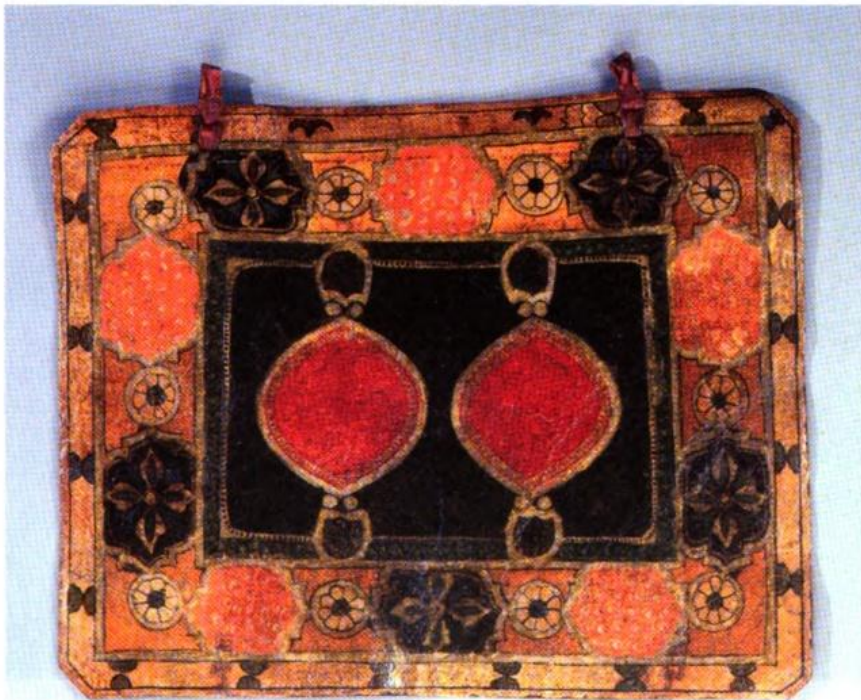
17. Detail of the saddle (cf. fig. 15): old gilt décor after removal of the metal mounts (RK, StKD: Inv.-No. L 626)



18. Detail of the saddle (fig. 15): brass gilt stirrups (RK, StKD: Inv.-No. L 279)



19. Detail of a saddle, probably of Tatar origin, 18th century: pommel (RK, StKD: Inv.-No. L 39)



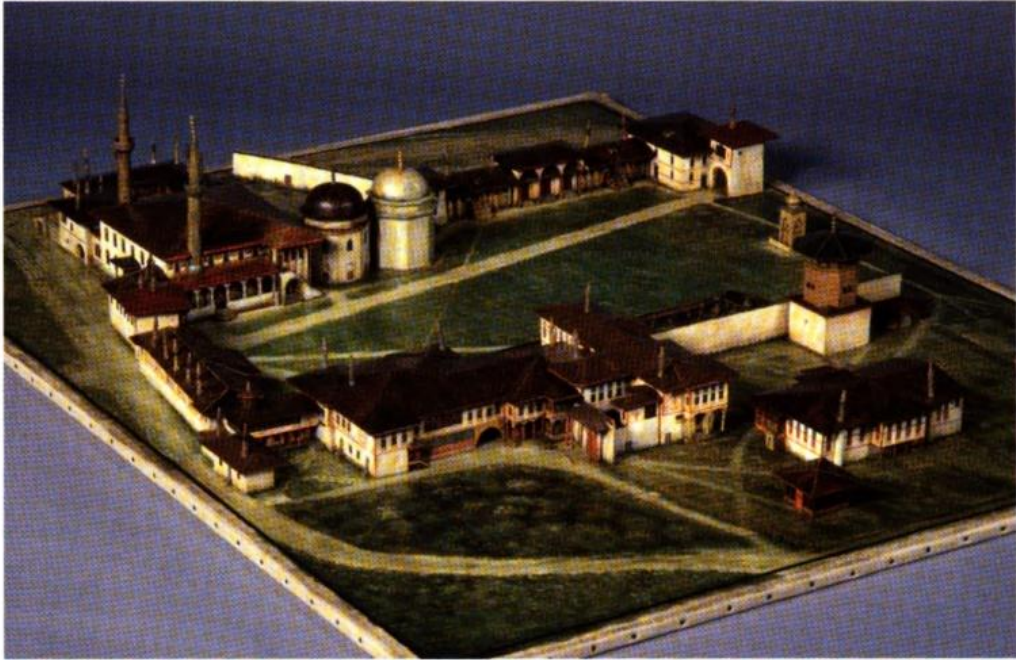
20. Detail of a saddle (fig. 19): leather saddle flaps (RK, StKD: Inv.-No. L 39)



1. Wilhelm Kiewewetter painting in a Kalmyk yurt, 1844



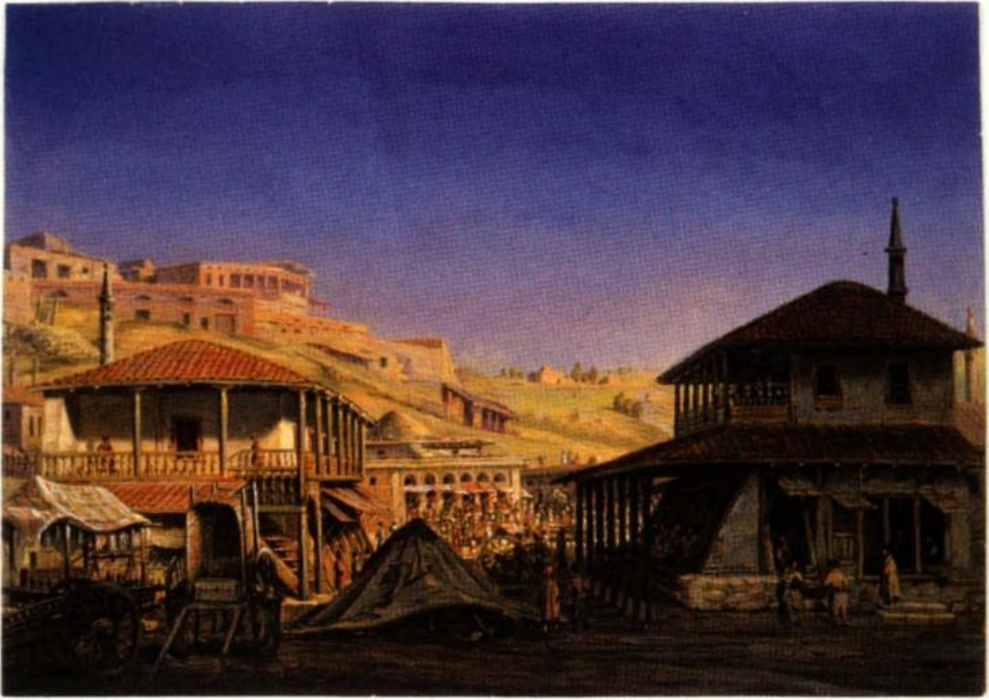
2. Model of the khan's palace in Bakhchisaray (Bachtschissarai)



3. Model of the khan's palace in Bakhchisaray (Bachtschissaray)



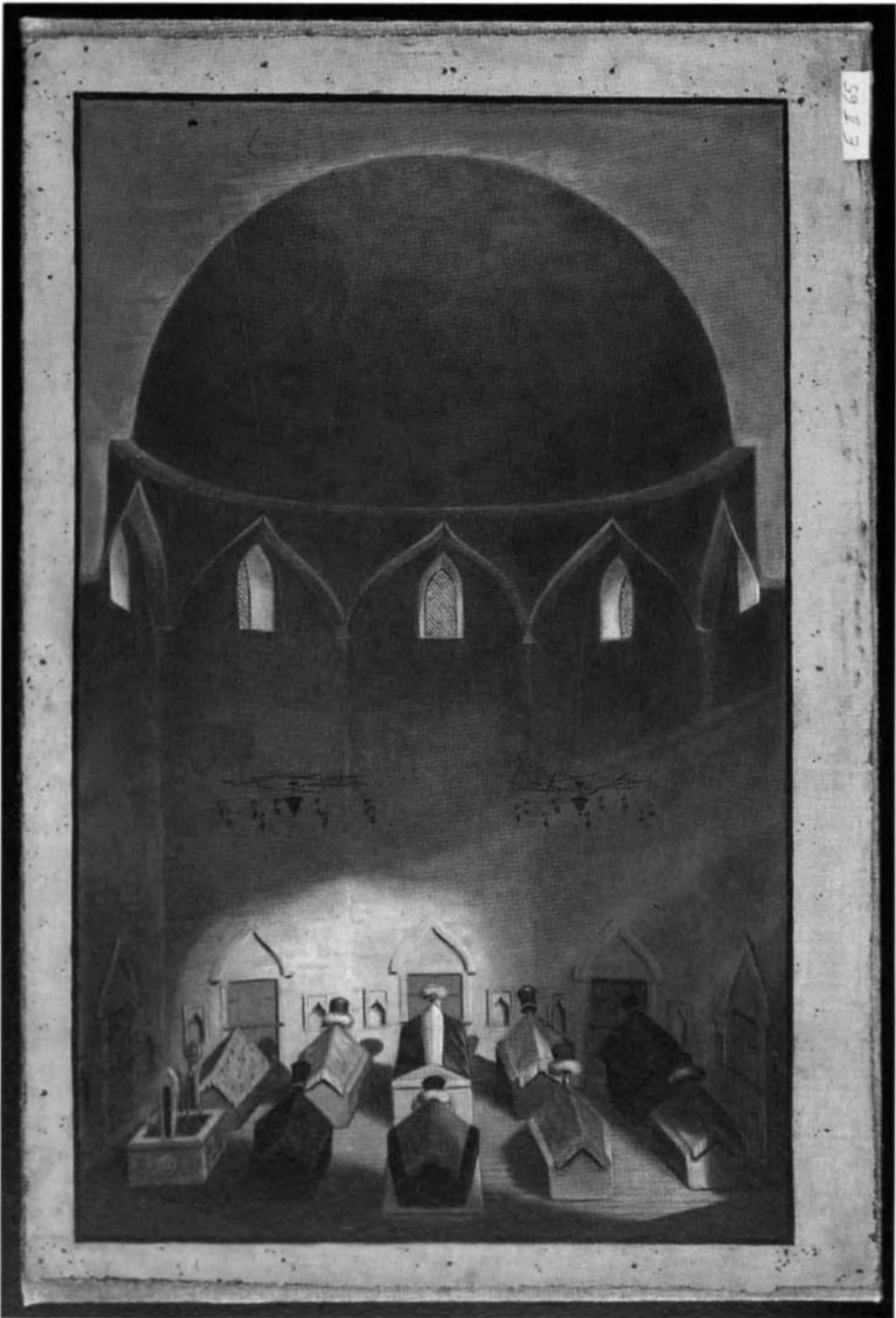
4. W. Kiesewetter. *Procession with wedding dresses at a Tatar wedding* (original title)



5. W. Kiesewetter. *Tatar coffee-houses at the bazar in Bakhchisaray*
(original title)



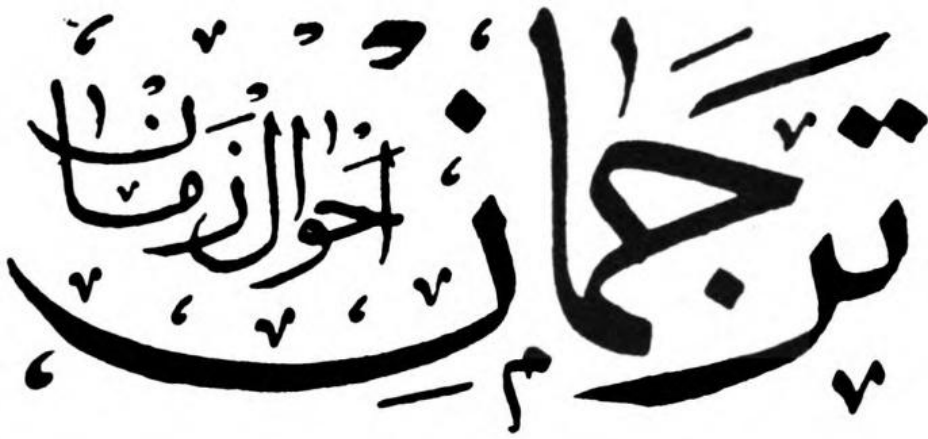
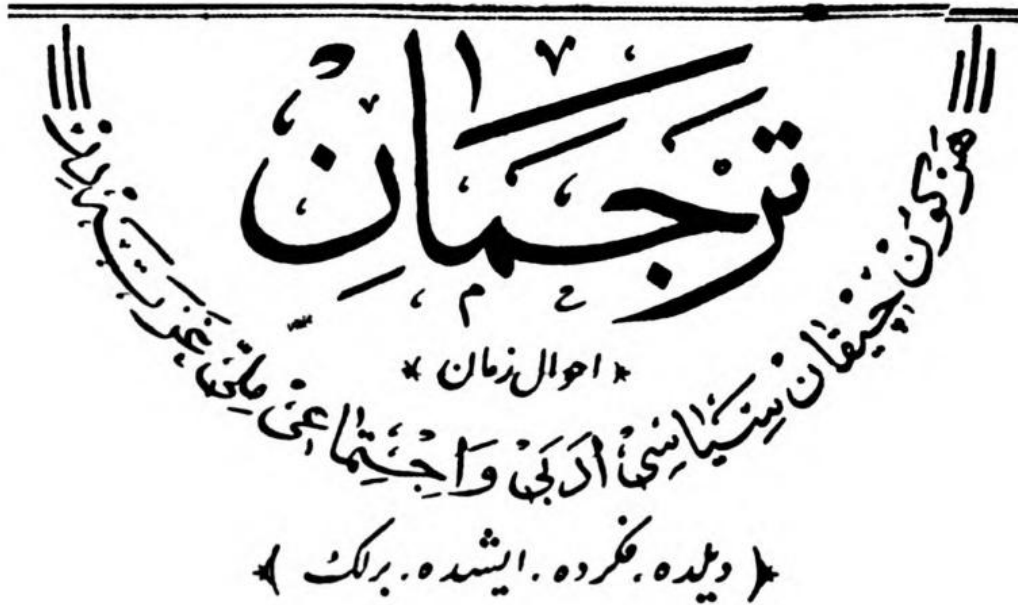
6. W. Kiesewetter. *Harem of a Tatar merchant* (original title)



7. W. Kiesewetter. *Mausoleum in the palace of the last Tatar khans* (original title)



8. W. Kiesewetter. *Tatar village school* (original title)

1. Logo of the newspaper *Terjüman*2. Logo of the newspaper *Terjüman*

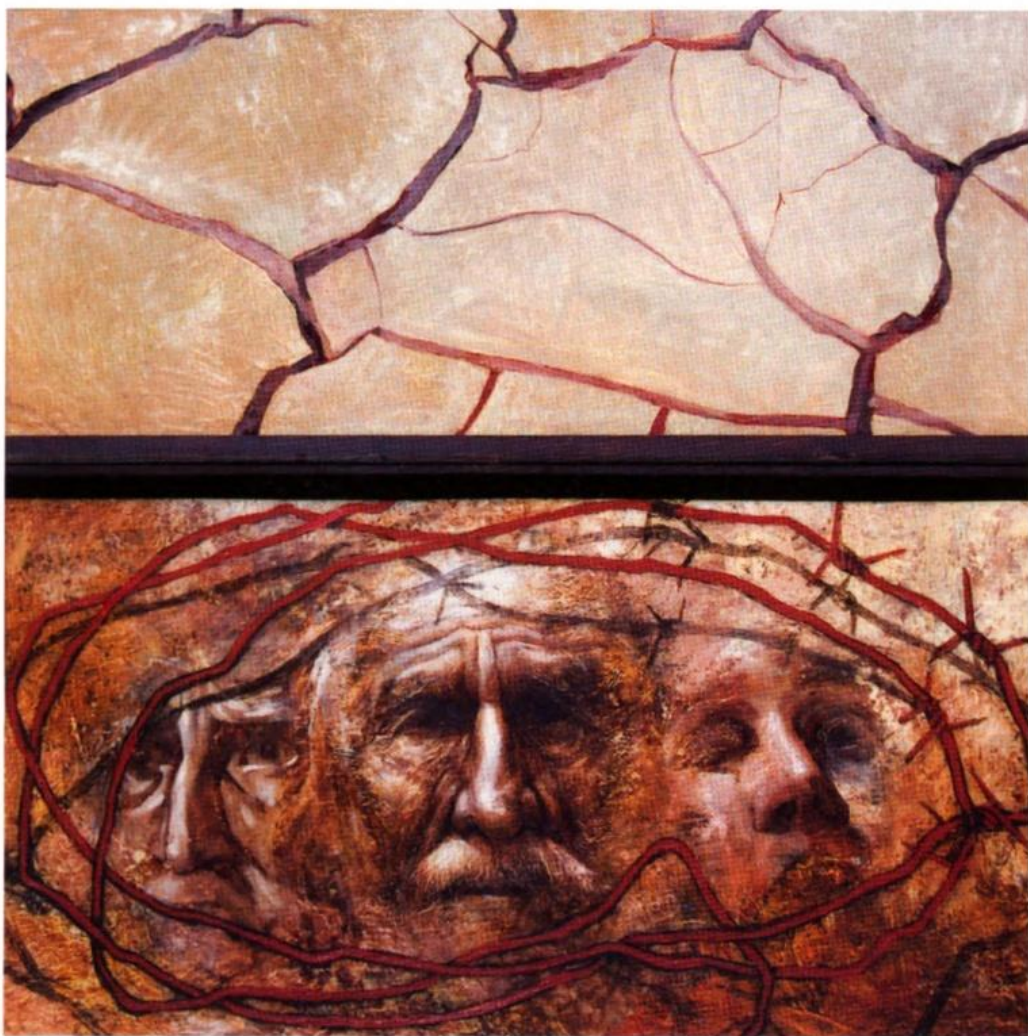


Группа гостей и читателей журнала на юбилей 10-летия издания «Переводчик» в 1893 г.

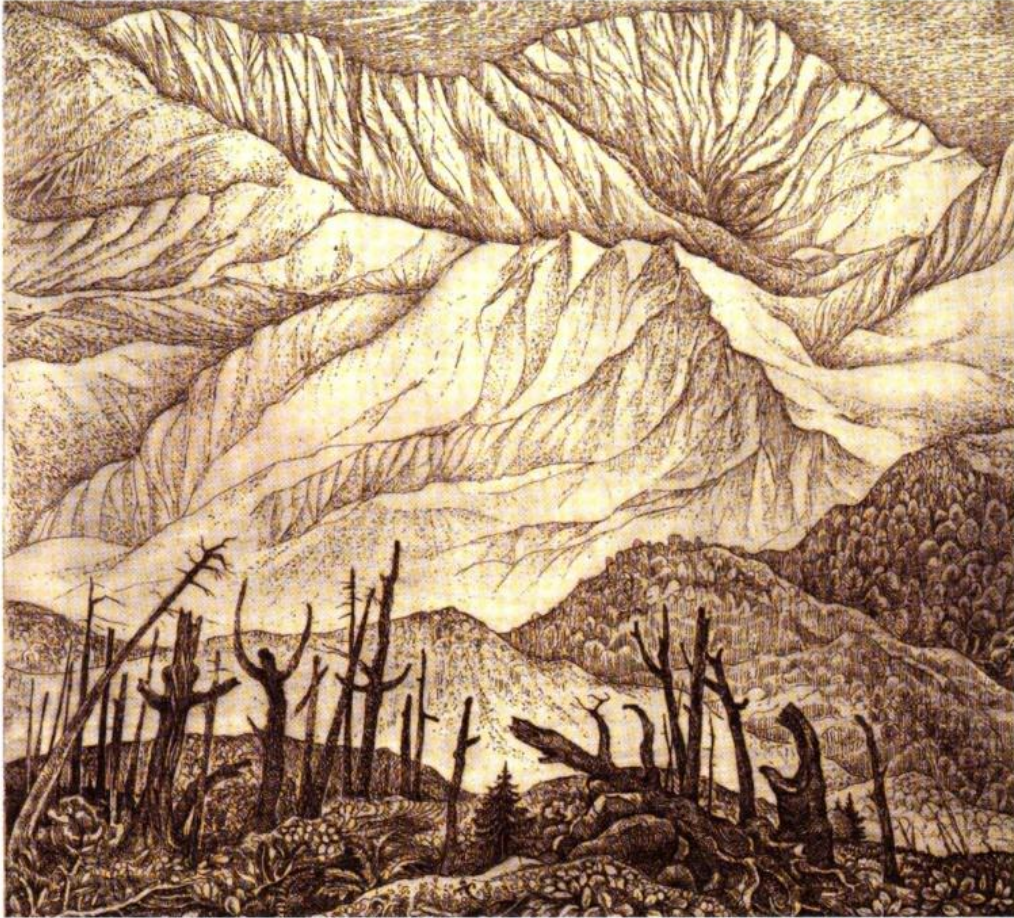
3. Caption: “Guests and readers of the journal *Perevodchik* assembled for prayer on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the journal (1893)”



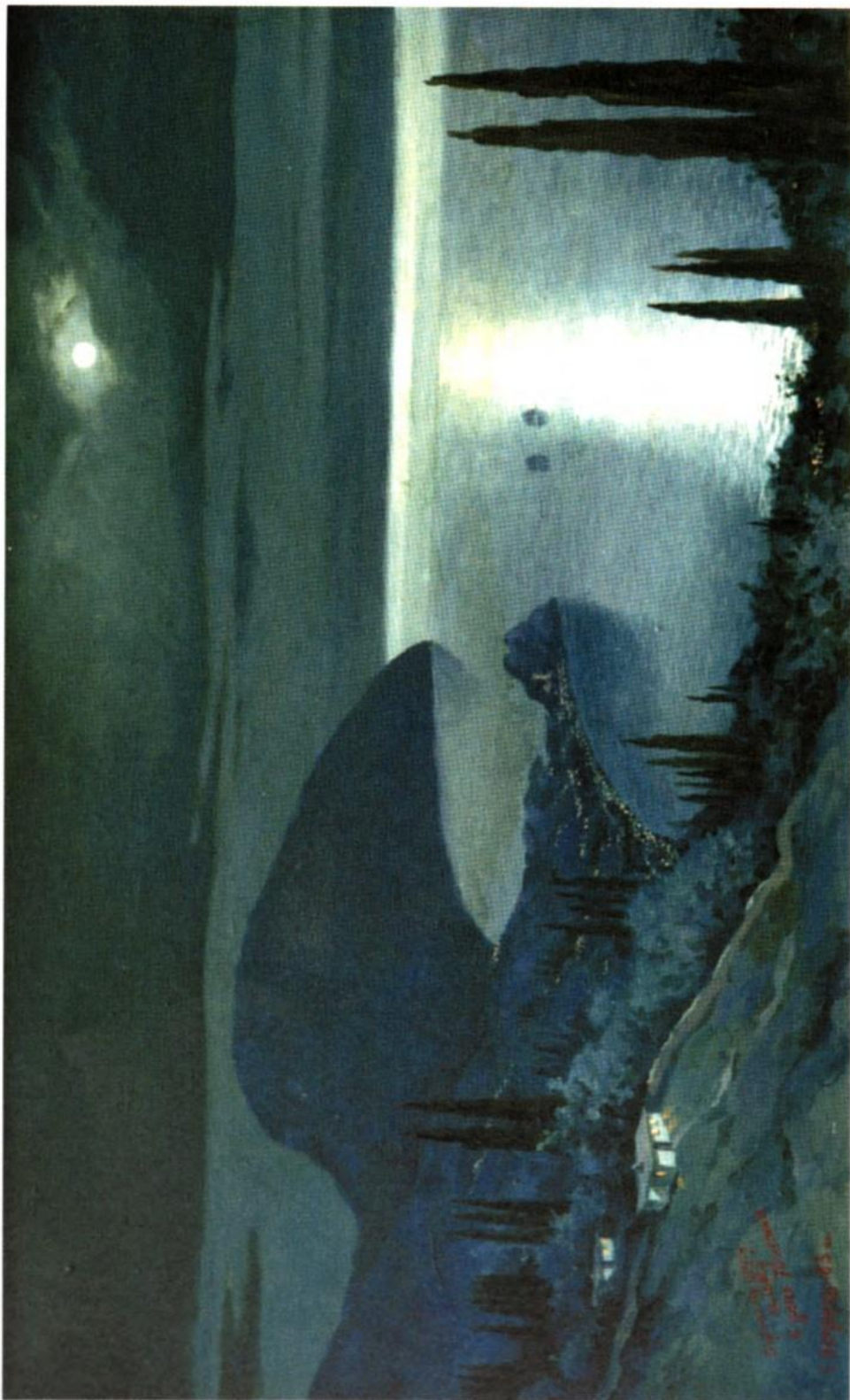
1. Tohtar Afuzov. *Saklya pri lune* [A dwelling (saklya) in the moonlight]. Oil on canvas, 1938 (Simferopol Art Museum)



2. Rustem Eminov. *Deportatsiya* [Deportation]. Oil on canvas, 1996
(Crimean Tatar Museum of Arts)



3. Zaur Ibragimov. *V gorakh Altaya* [In the Altai mountains]. Oil on canvas, 1978 (Biisk Art Museum, Altaiiskii Krai, Russian Federation)



4. Seithalil Osmanov. *Gurzuf noch'yu* [The village Gurzuf at night]. Oil on canvas, 1989
(Crimean Tatar Museum of Arts)



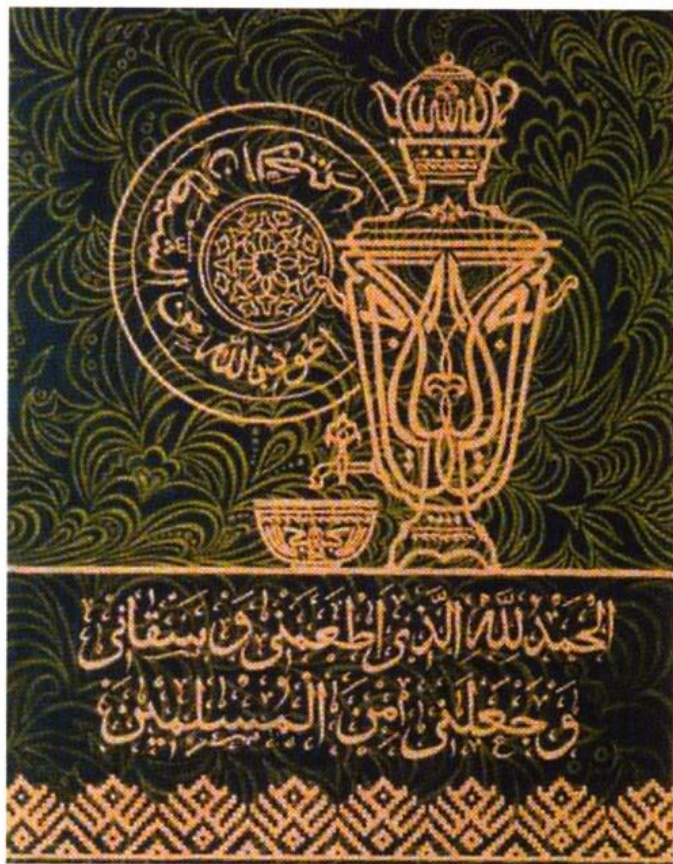
5. Elmaz Osmanova. *Navazhdenie* [Temptation]. Oil on canvas, 2003
(Crimean Tatar Museum of Arts)



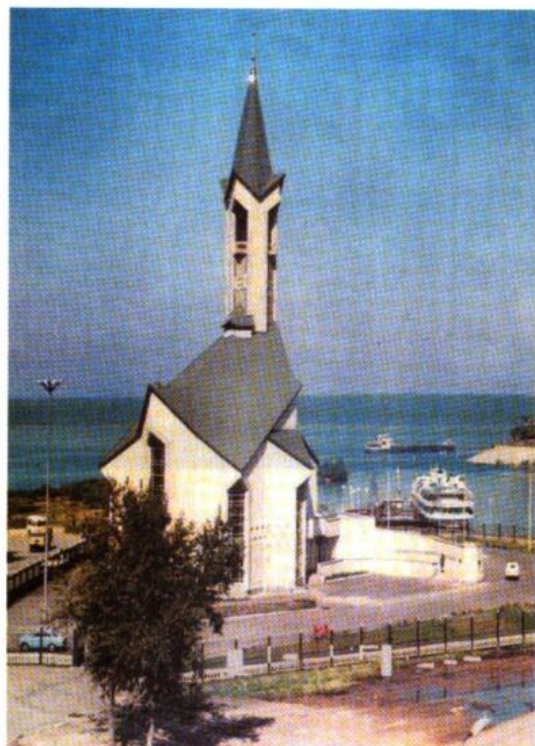
6. Ramazan Useinov. *Sherfe-tatai* [Auntie Sherfe]. Oil on canvas, 2004 (private collection)



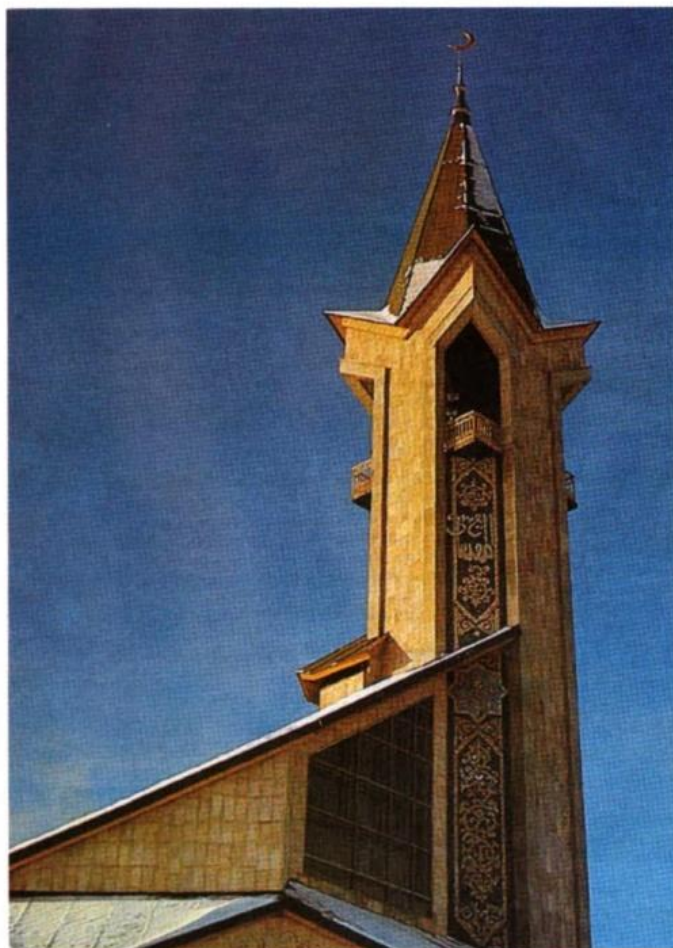
7. Amet Ustaev. *Avtoportret* [Self-portrait]. Oil on canvas, 1962 (Crimean Tatar Museum of Arts)



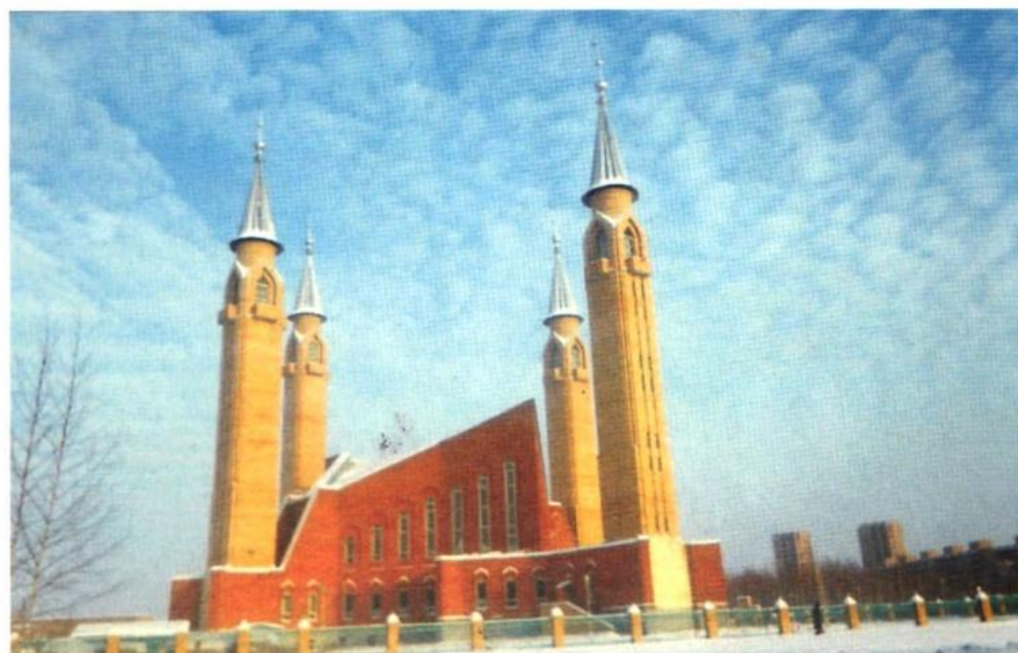
1. Rishat Salakhutdinov.
After-dinner prayer.
So-called *shamail*,
oil on glass, 1997
(private collection)



2. Täubä Mosque in Naberezhnye
Chelny, Tatarstan



3. Täubä Mosque in Naberezhnye Chelny, minaret



4. The Friday mosque in Nizhnekamsk, Tatarstan



1. Bashkir manuscript of the Qur'an. Sura "al-Fatiha" (*Ornamenty rukopisnykh i staropechatnykh knig Bashkortostana. Al'bom. Sostaviteli: G. B. Husainov, I. G. Galyautdinov, Ufa 2001*)



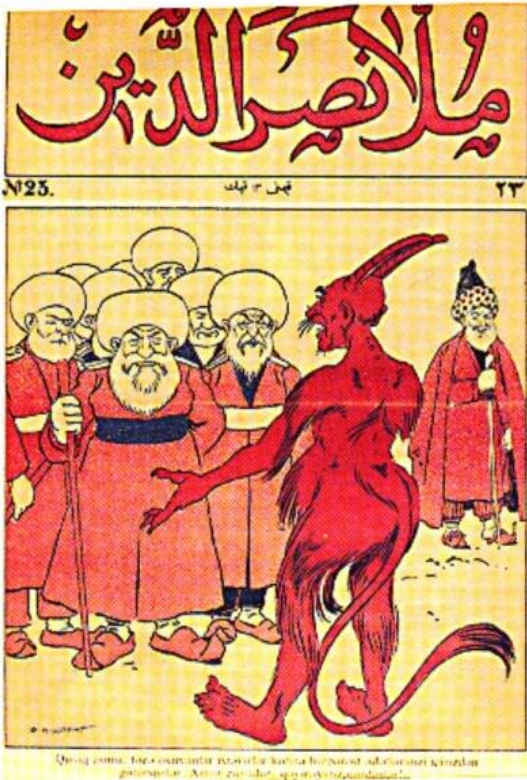
2. The Qur'an in Arabic with interlinear translation into Persian. Scribe: Muhammad ibn Fahr ad-Din, 1291/1841 (Manuscript collection of the Central Z. Validi Library, Ufa, Bashkortostan; photograph by the author)



3. A woven wall hanging from the village of Arievo, Dyvanskii region, Bashkortostan (*Bashkiry. Ètnicheskaya istoriya i traditsionnaya kul'tura*, Ufa 2002)



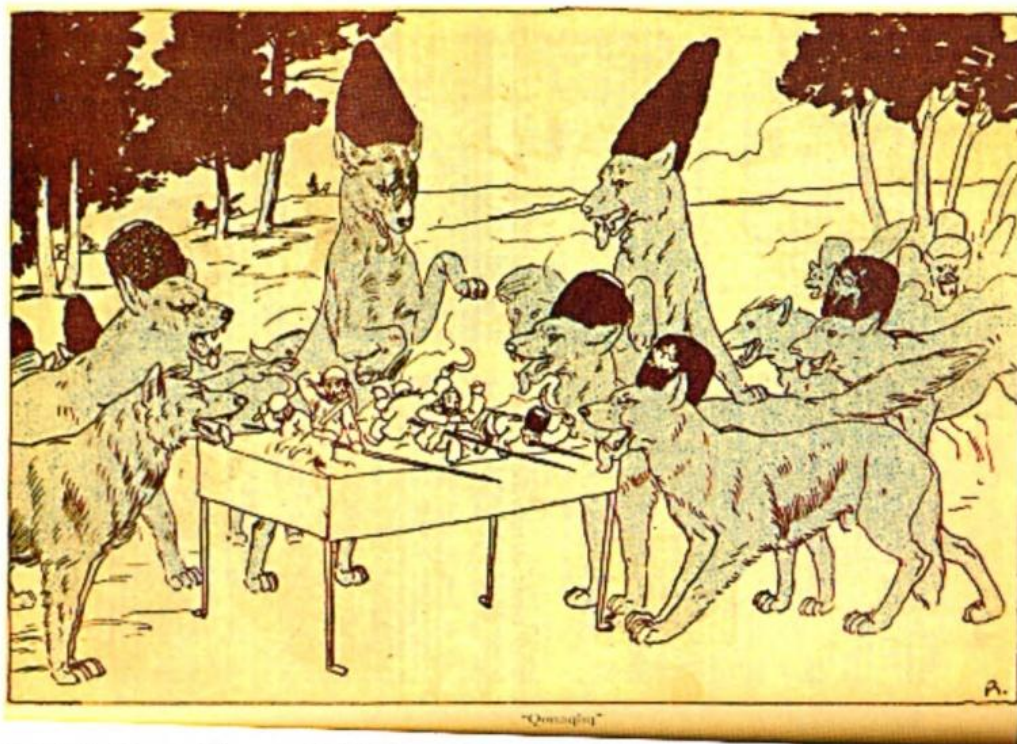
4. Chain-stitch embroidery on apron from Belokataiskii region, Bashkortostan, 1959 (*Bashkiry. Ètnicheskaya istoriya i traditsionnaya kul'tura*, Ufa 2002)



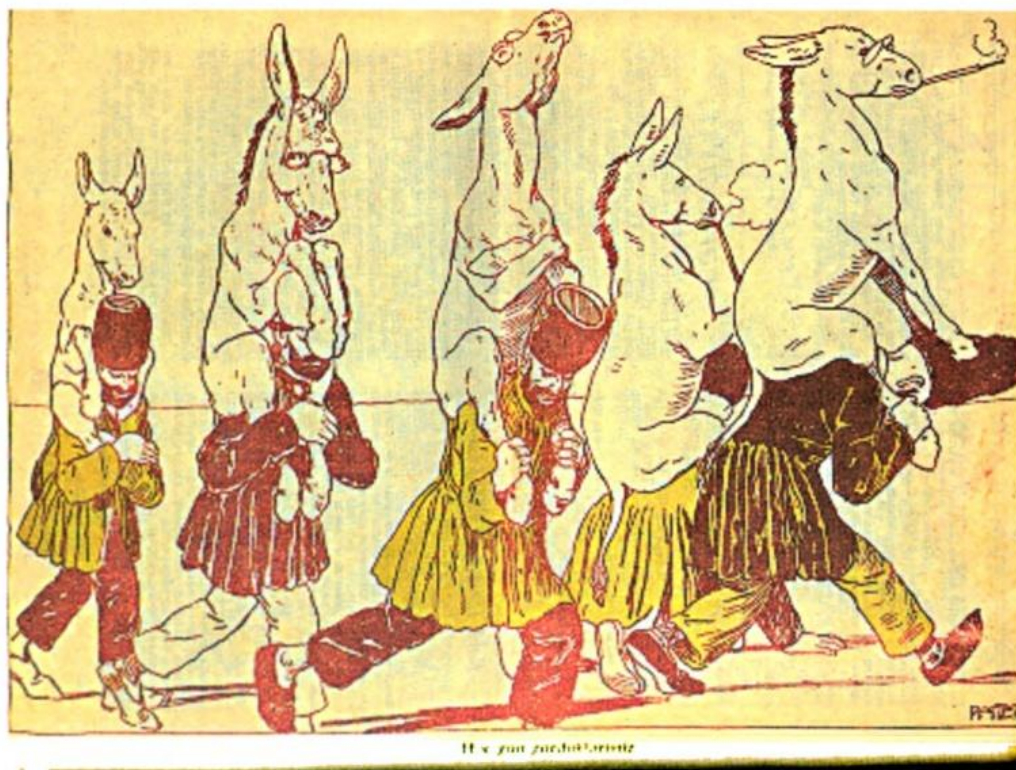
1. Weekly magazine *Molla Nasreddin* (Tbilisi), no. 23 (1907), title page



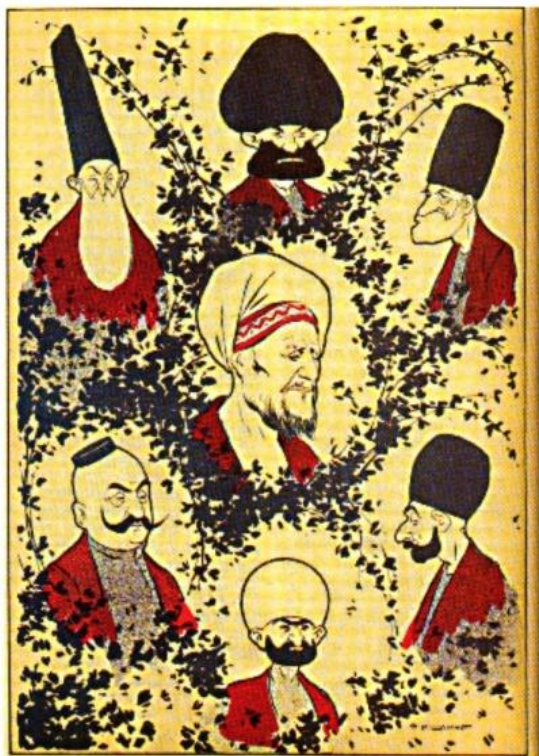
2. *Molla Nasreddin*, no. 35 (1907), title page



3. *Molla Nasreddin*, no. 6 (1907), p. 4: "Banquet"



4. *Molla Nasreddin*, no. 10 (1907), p. 4: "What we see every day"



5. *Molla Nasreddin*, no. 29 (1907),
p. 8: “Muslim world
(Our national head gear)”



1. Dadash Blimgotov. *The black day*. Oil on canvas, 1993
(Museum of Art, Cherkessk, Republic of Karachaevo-Cherkessiya)



2. Valerii Kurdanov. *Refuge for Special Resettlers*. Oil on canvas, 1992
(Museum of Art, Nal'chik, Republic of Kabardino-Balkariya)



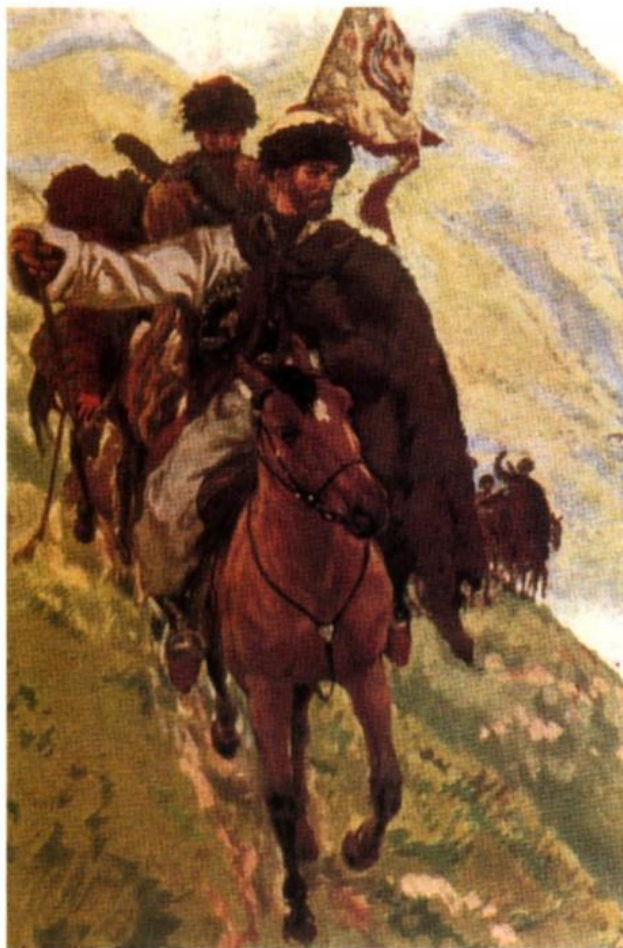
3. Khazyr Teppeev. *Caucasian landscape facing the North*. Oil on canvas, 1997
(Museum of Art, Nal'chik, Republic of Kabardino-Balkariya)



4. Ibragim Jankishiev. *The souls of deceased Balkar women return to their native village.* Oil on canvas, 1994 (The artist's studio, Nal'chik)



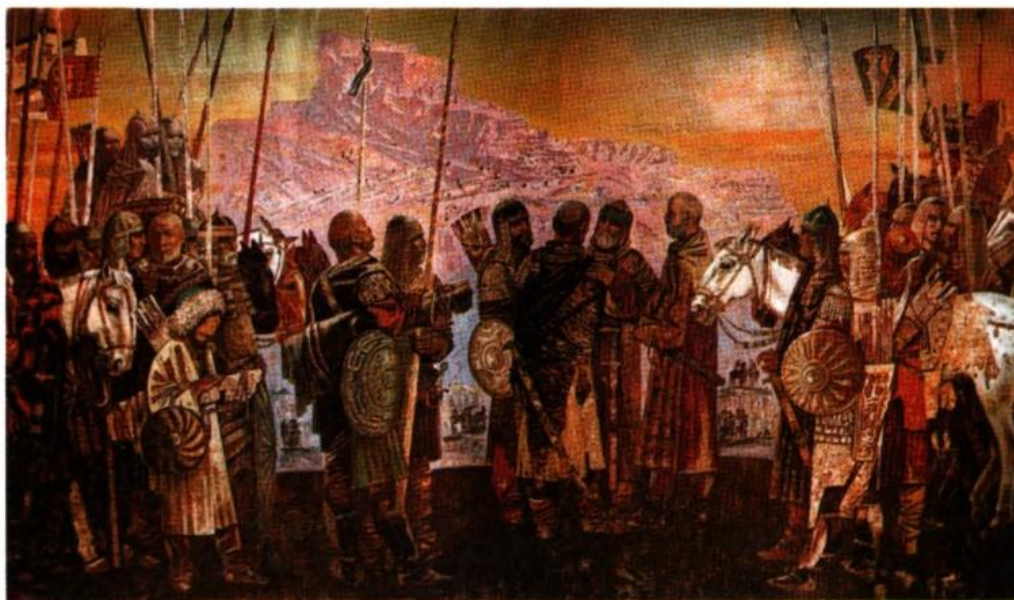
5. Ibragim Jankishiev. Central part of the triptych *24 hours. 14 days. 13 years.*
Oil on canvas, 1985 (The artist's studio, Nal'chik)



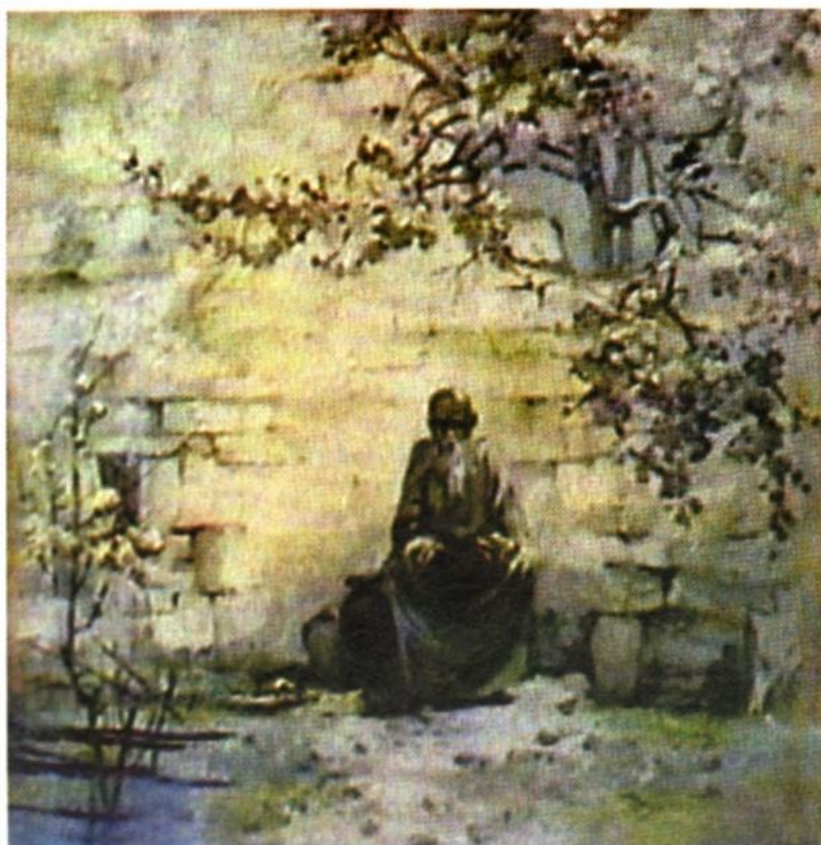
1. E. E. Lansere. *Khadzhi-Murat comes down from the mountains*. Illustration for the short novel "Khadzhi-Murat" by Lev Tolstoi, 1913



2. M. A. Dzhemal. *Portrait of the poet Suleiman Stal'skii*. Oil on canvas, 1935–1939
(The Daghestan Museum of Fine Arts)



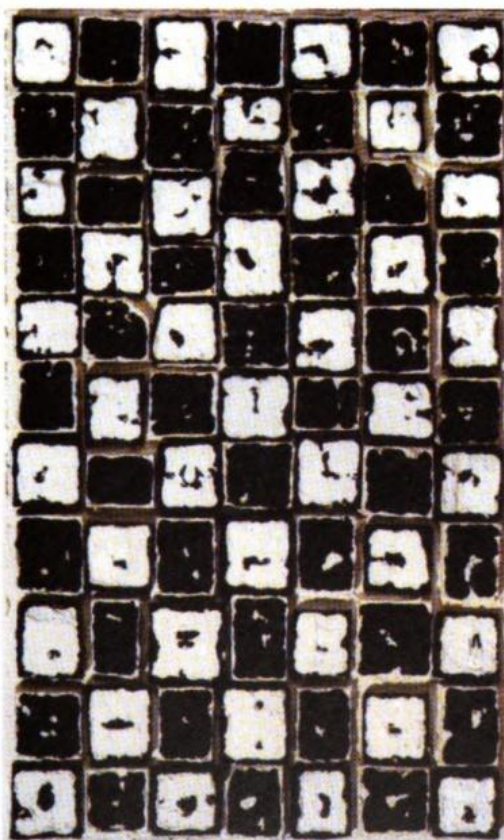
3. M. Musaev. *17th century. Shavkhals after internal strife*. Oil on canvas, 1996.
220 × 370 cm (Central Public Rasul Gamzatov Library, Republic of Daghestan)



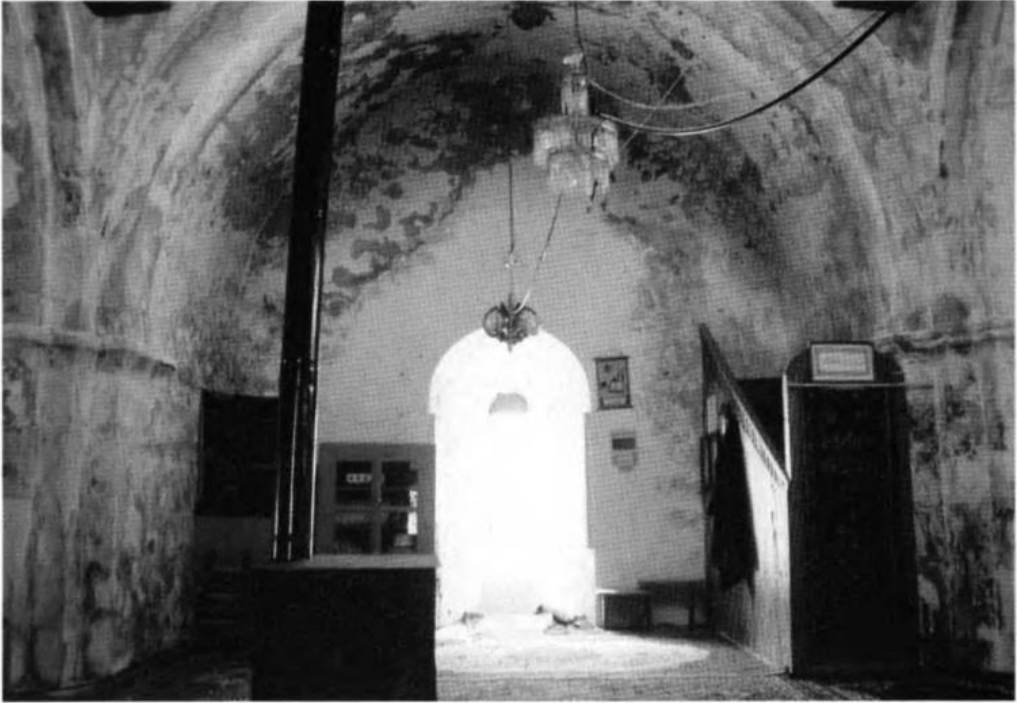
4. I. Urudzheva. *The ninetieth spring*. Oil on canvas, 1999
(in the possession of the author)



5. E. Golik. *Metaphysical village*. Oil on canvas, 1998
(in the possession of the author)



6. A. Magomedov. *Relief*. Oil painting,
1996 (in the possession of the
author)



1. Mosque in Dolishan, former monastery church, Tao-Klardjet/Northeastern Anatolia, *mihrab* and *mimber*



2. Mosque in Dolishan, former monastery church, south cross-arm façade



3. Mosque in Dolishan, former monastery church, *mahfil*



4. Mosque in Haho, former monastery church, *mahfil*



5. Mosque in Haho, former monastery church, *mihrab* and *mimber* (2003)



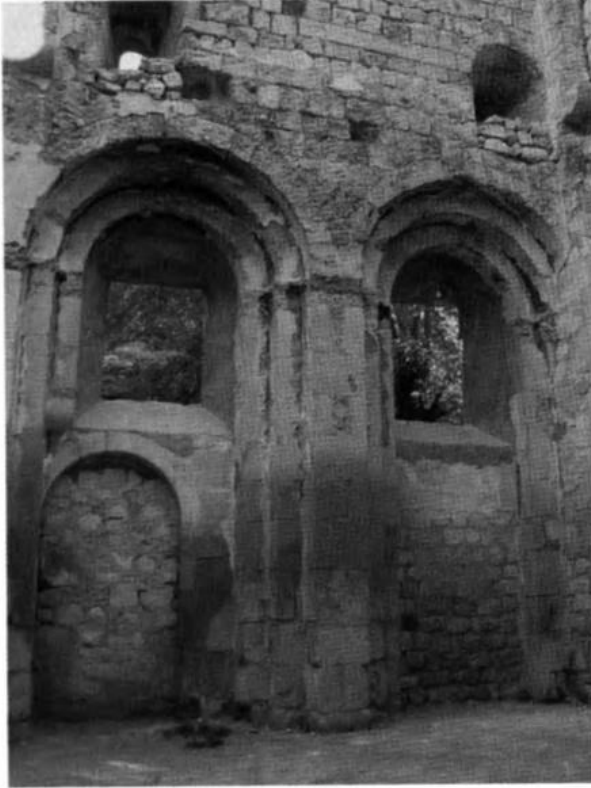
6. Mosque in Haho, former monastery church, *mihrab* and *mimber* (2005)



7. Mosque in Barhal, former monastery church, *mihrab*



8. Mosque in Sattel, former church, *mihrab*



9. Mosque in Işhan, former monastery church, *mihrab*



10. Mosque in Işhan, former monastery church, south portal



1. St. Peter and Paul Church, Sagarejo, Georgia: Western façade



2. St. Peter and Paul Church: Portal of the western façade



3. St. Peter and Paul Church: The cross above the portal of the western façade



4. St. Peter and Paul Church: Cross at the main, eastern façade



1. *Woman with golabdan*. Style of Muḥamed Hasan, Iran, first part of 19th c. Oil on canvas, 106 × 71 cm (Shalva Amiranashvili State Museum of Art of Georgia (ShAMG)), Tbilisi; Inv. No. OD 926)



2. *Dancer with castanets*. Unknown artist, Iran, first part of 19th c.
Oil on canvas, 155 × 87 cm (ShAMG; Inv. No. OD 858)



3. *Portrait of 'Abbas-Mirza*. Unknown artist, Iran, late 18th to early 19th c. Oil on canvas, 81 × 60 cm (ShAMG; Inv. No. OD 857)



4. *Portrait of Feridun*. Haji Agha Jan. Iran, late 18th to early 19th c. Oil on canvas, 79 x 72 cm (ShAMG; Inv. No. OD 2088)



5. *Musician*. Unknown artist. Iran, first part of the 19th c. Oil on canvas, 85,5 × 71 cm (ShAMG; Inv. No. OD 860)



6. *Portrait of Muhammad Shah*. Unknown artist. Iran. Period of Muhammad Shah (1834–1848). Oil on canvas. 209,5 × 104 cm (ShAMG; Inv. No. OD116)



7. *Lovers with a servant*. Unknown artist, period of Muhammad Shah (1834–1848), Iran. Oil on canvas, 150 × 90 cm (ShAMG; Inv. No. OD 917)



8. *Spring*. Abul Kasim Isfahani. 1901/02, Iran. Oil on canvas, 83 × 60,5 cm (ShAMG; Inv. No. OD 931)



9. *Woman with child*. Unknown artist, Georgian-Persian school, late 18th to early 19th c. Oil on canvas, 179 × 83,5 cm (ShAMG; Inv. No. OD 927)